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THE MEMOIRS

OF

THE DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME-MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY CHARLOTTE LENNOX.

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED AND CORRECTED; WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES,
SOME LETTERS OF HENRY THE GREAT,

AND

A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY EDWARD EARLE.
J. MAXWELL, PRINTER.
1817.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In presenting this new Edition of Mrs. Lennox's Translation of the Memoirs of Sully to the public, it is necessary to state in what respects it differs from those which have preceded it:—In the first place, the whole of the text has been carefully collated with the French, and such corrections made in it as were deemed justifiable, and such, the Editor is persuaded the ingenious Translator herself would have made on a careful revision of her Translation. Recourse has, next, been had to the original work composed under the direction of the Duke of Sully, intitled Memoires ou Œconomies royales d'Estat, domestiques, politiques, et militaires de Henry le Grand, par Maximilian de Bethune, Duc de Sully (*from which the* Memoires de Sully *were compiled in the middle of the last century by a M. l'Ecluse*); *and wherever, on comparison, this original was found to be more clear and satisfactory in the narration of any particular event, it has been followed in preference to the modern work. The Editor was first induced to collate this very curious, and, in England, but little known book, with the modern Memoirs, by reading a tract published in France, soon after the appearance of the latter, intitled* Observations on the new Form of the Memoirs travesty of the Duke of Sully,* *in which the compiler is accused, not without*

* Observations sur la nouvelle Forme des Memoires travestis de M. le duc de Sully. *It may be seen in the ninth volume of the French edition of Sully in* 12°, 1778.

cause, of having garbled, and in some cases, misrepresented, his original.

A few additional Notes have been added where they seemed necessary, either to correct or explain any passage in the text; and in the last volume some letters from Henry IV. to one of his mistresses. These are given for two reasons; first, because they turn chiefly upon several occurrences noticed by Sully in his Memoirs; and, secondly, because they tend still farther to illustrate the character of that great and extraordinary Prince, who, amidst the toils and dangers of a most harrassing and cruel warfare, seems to have given way to all the impulses of the tenderest of passions, and to have been as anxious to deserve and secure the affection of his mistress, as he was to defeat the plots of his enemies, and assert his right to the crown of France.

From the abrupt manner in which these Memoirs commence, the Editor has been induced to prefix a brief historical Introduction:—some apology is perhaps due for this performance; but as it aims at nothing more than a detail of the leading *events from the accession of Francis II. to the year* 1570, *he hopes it will be received as such; he has endeavoured to render it as perspicuous as his narrow limits would allow; and though it may not deserve the attention of readers deeply versed in the history of that period, yet he trusts it will be of some use to those who have not always leisure or opportunity to consult the original sources from whence it is drawn.*

March 20*th*, 1810.

TO THE

HIGH, PUISSANT, AND MOST NOBLE PRINCE,

THOMAS HOLLES-PELHAM,

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, MARQUIS AND EARL OF CLARE, VISCOUNT HAUGHTON, AND BARON PELHAM OF LAUGHTON, AND BARONET, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Authors are often unfortunate in the choice of their Patrons: and Works are devoted with great solemnity, to the use of those who cannot use them, and the pleasure of those whom they cannot please.

That I have avoided this impropriety, in dedicating to your Grace these Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, a whole Nation, whose affairs you have so long and so happily directed, will bear me witness; but then I can claim no praise from my own discernment; because I only echo the Voice of the People, and address myself, where that leads me.

Though my sex and manner of life make me a stranger to public affairs; I yet discover of myself, that the History I have translated, is not only interesting but important; and that the original author of it was not only well versed in all the prime operations of government, but that he saved a Nation by bringing method and order into every branch of her revenues, and administering the whole with the most accurate economy.

A Book, thus filled with political wisdom, could be fitly offered only to him, who lays out his whole time and attention, in labours of the same tendency; and for the service of a more free, and therefore a nobler People.

That Providence may co-operate with your endeavours; and that your Grace may steer not only safely, but triumphantly, through every difficulty of the present conjuncture, are wishes so natural to all true Britons, that they cannot be thought improper even from a woman, and in this public manner. She is, with the profoundest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

CHARLOTTE LENNOX.

London, Sept. 5, 1755.

THE PREFACE

TO

THE FRENCH EDITION.

AS, in the judgment of good critics and lovers of literature, the MEMOIRS OF SULLY have been always ranked amongst our best books, I have no need to enter here into a disquisition which will be of little use to those who are acquainted with the work.

To give those an idea of these Memoirs who have never read them, it will be sufficient to observe, that they contain a history of whatever happened from the peace of 1570, to the first years of Lewis XIII, comprehending more than forty years of a period which has supplied the most copious subjects to the historians of France; and that they treat of the reign, or, to speak more properly, almost of the whole life, of Henry the Great. They presuppose, indeed, some knowledge of the foregoing commotions,* which are only occasionally mentioned; but they display all the succeeding events with the utmost minuteness. These events are equally numerous and diversified; foreign and civil wars, interests of state and religion; master-strokes of policy; unexpected discoveries; struggles of ambition; stratagems of policy; embassies and negociations, are

* These the Editor has endeavoured briefly to detail in the Introduction now prefixed to the Memoirs.

all to be found in this book, of which, however, they form but a part.

The Memoirs of Sully derive their value, perhaps their greatest value, from the innumerable recitals of a private kind, which scarcely belong to the province of history; this is the particular advantage of memoirs; they admit all subjects, however numerous, and all incidents however, various, which one can desire to insert; and they are not subject to the burthen imposed upon history, of continuing the narrative through dry generalities, with which even the writer finds himself disgusted.

To obtain a complete knowledge of any prince, it is necessary that the picture of his private life be set to view, together with his public conduct; he must be shown with his courtiers and domestics, in those moments when he is little observed; his character must be fixed by his letters and conversation; the passions are better displayed by a single word, related as it was spoken, than by all the art which a historian can use. This idea of memoirs is quite answered by those of Sully; so that no man, till he has perused them, can have a just conception of Henry IV. They represent to us that great prince, in his good as well as his bad fortune; now as a private man, now as a king, as a warrior, or as a politician; and to come still lower, as a husband, father, or friend; and all told in so affecting a manner, that the reader cannot refrain from taking part in the most minute and indifferent incidents of his life: at most, I can only except some military recitals, which occur perhaps, too often at the beginning of the work, and a small number of other passages less pleasing; though on the other hand, these recitals are always connected with the public affairs,

and diversified, like the rest, with the part which the duke of Sully bore in them.

The duke is as the second actor, and this double action makes no breach in the unity of interest, because this minister says almost nothing of himself which has not some relation to public affairs, or the person of his master. The reader will, doubtless, be pleased to know what judgment was formed of these Mèmoirs when they first appeared in the world, and I shall give him information from the author of an old discourse, to be found among the MSS.* of the king's library: "One of the most beautiful pictures of human prudence and fidelity," says he, "is to be found in the account left to the public, in two volumes, by the duke of Sully, of the nature of the advice he had given, and the services he had done, to his king and benefactor, as well for his particular and personal honour, as for the prosperity of his kingdom. And, in truth, the fortune of Henry the Great, and the virtue of his prime minister, are two things which appear alternately, or, more properly, go hand in hand. The minister, in this work, serves and obliges the king in all the ways that a king can receive service or obligation from a subject, with his hand, his courage, his sword, and even with his blood, or actions of bravery and adventure, but particularly in his council and cabinet, with the greatest understanding, and most quick-sighted policy, the most pure disinterestedness, and untainted sincerity, that has ever been known to historians, either of our own or other countries."

It is natural, in the reign of a prince like Henry IV, to look for great generals, deep politicians, and skilful ministers; but we are surprised to find in one man,

* Vol. 9590.

the warrior, the politician, the wise manager of business, the steady and unbending friend, as well as the close confidant and darling of his master. But what is more uncommon, is to see in a work where the actions of two such extraordinary persons are collected after their deaths, a great king forced to make a conquest of his own kingdom engaged with a minister in his way, not less great, in contriving means to make his undertakings successful: labouring afterwards, in concert with him, to make his kingdom not only peaceable but flourishing, regulating the revenue, laying the foundation of trade, methodising the government, and, in short, recovering every part of the establishment from confusion.

In this work, therefore, are comprised two lives united together, and illustrating and adorning one another, the lives of a king and a minister, his confidant, nearly of the same age, carried on from the infancy of both to the death of the king, and to the retreat of the minister.

We may add that the Memoirs of Sully are yet farther valuable, by principles of excellent morality, by civil and political maxims derived from truth; by an infinite number of views, schemes, and regulations, of almost every kind, with which they are filled. The duke of Sully is said, by one of his cotemporaries, to have been the only man that ever discovered the means of uniting two things, which our fathers not only could not unite, but considered in their own nature inconsistent, the increase of the king's revenue, and the relief of the people. He that would have an idea of a good subject and an incorruptible minister, must look for it in this picture, where he will see economy in its full lustre, and policy in all its practice; the art of using

and of gaining power; the science of reigning as a man; and of reigning as a king; the finest instructions and most forcible examples of morality are here exhausted, and the whole supported and adorned by a knowledge of every thing, from the highest arts to the lowest mechanic occupations.

However high this praise may seem, I do not find that the severest critics depart much from it; one need only consult the abbé Le-Laboureur, in his Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, vol. II, book ii, p. 687, father Le-Long, and a multitude of modern writers; for who is there that does not cite the Memoirs of Sully as the first political treatise that has shown us the real power of this kingdom, and in which are contained the seeds of whatever has been done by Richelieu, Mazarine, and Colbert; and in which is opened the best school for the art of government?

I will now quit this consideration for another, which I neither can nor ought to conceal; namely, that the pleasure which so valuable a book affords, is attended with a degree of fatigue which makes this ornament of libraries useless to the greater part of readers. This is to be imputed to want of method and defects of style: the subjects lie in the greatest confusion; those who have compiled them propose to entertain us with particular recitals of military, political, and domestic affairs; but they neither know how to keep them apart, nor to join them properly: a fact is cleared up, or a narrative continued, at the distance, sometimes, of an hundred pages; from the beginning of the first volume, one must often jump to the end of the second; the letters of Henry, which ought to be regularly inserted in the narration, are bundled up together and put by themselves, or intro-

duced where they only break the thread of the discourse, to which, very often, they have no relation: the maxims of law and government are driven off to a distant page, where it is often difficult to meet with them; they have the appearance of an independent note; and one might have known, that the compilers were mere men of business, though they had not told it.

As to the diction, it is not going too far to say, that it has every fault which diction can admit; it is too much diffused, obscured frequently by the enormous protraction of the sentences, and frequently by the impropriety of the words, which are sometimes creeping and low, and at others ridiculously inflated.

These two general reflections on the Memoirs of Sully, one would have imagined, might have induced some of our bests writers to make them as agreeable as they are interesting and useful; the more so, as their excellence arises from the subject, while their defects consist only in the form in which they are presented. It is allowed on all hands, that they must be excepted from the number of those old books which cannot be altered without being spoiled; but the danger of giving offence to the nicety of critics has hitherto driven away all thoughts of such an undertaking: and I confess that I could never have engaged in it, had I not been urged on by that fondness for the original, which brings the passions as well as the genius into a work, and makes us blind to all the obstacles that may oppose us; for, to accommodate such a work as this to the present taste, a man must preserve at once the fidelity of a translator, and the liberty of a compiler: he must carefully preserve the

sense of his author, though he must abridge, transpose, and methodise his work.

An emendation, merely grammatical, which should reach no farther than to change those expressions, which are confessedly bad, and to retrench those that are apparently superfluous, would have been short of the reformation which the style requires; and, if nothing had been attempted but to bring the scattered parts of the story together, and methodise those things that are out of order, to free the book from the inconvenience of confusion, even this must have ended in the destruction of the text. I have tried every method that I could invent to avoid the necessity of taking the work wholly to pieces, and moulding it anew; but I saw at last, that no other way would answer my intention: I was convinced that a style so faulty as that of these Memoirs, was far from deserving to be treated with the same respect as that of Comines, Montagne, and Amyot: that the mere general alterations, which are confessedly necessary, would change it so much from its original state, that to make it yet more different, was no great matter: and that these alterations, producing a necessity of connexions and transitions which would naturally be of a different cast of language from the rest, many patches of new style appearing in those pages of antiquity, would have produced a disagreeable contrast: and that the original must not only be cleared from a great number of odd expressions, but of unnatural and unusual ideas, which appear even in the ridiculous singularity of the very title, *Œconomies Royales, et Servitudes Loyales:* that such liberties as I have taken were necessary, in order to arrive at a just chronology and arrangement of matter: and that this liberty was

consistent enough with the obligation of preserving the sense of the original, and suffering the Memoirs of Sully to lose nothing by being put into a new language.

In the first place, I found it indispensably necessary to change the formal language of secretaries, who know nothing but to praise and flatter. What can be more tedious than to see them, at every line addressing their master to put him in mind of something that has already happened, and to confess that he understands the business better than themselves? This perpetual address makes the book little more than a long dedication; and yet this could not have been corrected without giving the work a new form.

I must add, that the historical narrative, which allows only the third person to be used, could not take place here, as I immediately found when I endeavoured to apply it: for the Memoirs of Sully, as I have already said, instead of one principal actor, present us with two, whose parts are constantly intermingled in the recital, or who almost always make their appearance together, either talking between themselves or with other persons. The pronouns *he* and *him*, which in other histories supply so conveniently the place of proper names, must, in a book like this, have been applied sometimes to one, sometimes to another, which would have produced an obscurity only to be avoided, by repetitions and circumlocutions equally inconvenient. If, to rid ourselves of this difficulty, which will be generally perceived, this book had been intitled Memoirs to contribute to a History of Henry IV, and the relation had been confined to the actions of that prince, this had at once cut off half the Memoirs, and perhaps that half which can least be spared; for

the life and actions of Henry the Great are every where to be found; but those of the duke of Sully can be read no where else: and it had been still less proper to have mentioned only the actions of the minister.

There remained therefore only one plan to pursue, that of making Sully tell his own story. I yielded with less reluctance to this necessity, as I found it likely to be the source of new pleasure; for nothing is more proper to throw over a work those interesting passages, which put the heart into emotion, than to introduce the principal actor in a complicated affair, entertaining you with an account of the part which he acted, and what an actor would he appear if one could attain to make him speak as such a minister, so favoured by his master, and so respected by all ranks of the community, might be supposed to speak at the present time.

This motive alone might prevail upon the public to grant me the indulgence which I require, for the only real liberty I have taken, if it should be found that I have in other respects, discharged the duty which this license made indispensable: but, as I cannot assume so much to myself, I shall found my defence upon a matter of fact; which is, that, in reality, the duke of Sully himself is the true author of the Memoirs which bear his name; since the original pieces are his own, and his secretaries did nothing more than tack them together. This is easily perceived in several places, where the pen of the minister being withheld, either by promise of secrecy or some consideration equally strong, you see the reader's expectation disappointed with regard to facts of which the secretaries themselves had apparently not the least knowledge. This is

therefore no robbery, but an honest restitution, which I make to their master of his own works. In attestation of this, I can produce all our writers, who show evidently when they quote the Memoirs of Sully, that they consider them as the work of that great man, and depend upon his authority. The single doubt of Vittorio Siri* is of no weight against so much evidence.

This critical disquisition I do not think of sufficient importance or amusement, to require that I should transcribe whole pages to establish this truth by exhibiting the words of Henry, Sully, or the secretaries themselves: he that thinks it worth his while, may consult the places marked in the margin;† I shall here offer only a conjecture, which I submit to the discernment of my reader.

The Memoirs of Sully were formed first upon the observations which M. de Rosny began, from his earliest youth, to make upon the events of his times, as well those that related to the public, as those that affected his master and himself. To these were added, in the next place, the observations which he set down at the intreaty of this prince, who soon began to distinguish a man of his character. M. de Rosny had plainly no intention to write a connected narrative, much less a formal history, but only a collection of pieces upon several events of his time, which he improved with his own reflections on government.‡ The term *Journal*, which is sometimes used, is not to be taken in the strictest sense: accounts consisting of pieces thus independent, were not things absolutely new

* Mem. Rec. Vol. I. p. 29.

† Epît. des 1 et 3 Tom. Tom. II. p. 407, 409, 410, 434, 435, 440, 448. Tom. III. p. 82, 83, 294, 385, &c. Tom. II. p. 440.

‡ Tom. II. p. 488. Tom. III. p. 83, 385.

in his time. It is not unlikely that he considered himself as collecting materials for more regular memoirs, which he afterwards thought fit to communicate to the public, under the name of his secretaries, rather than his own.

These registers,* of which there has been already mention, were put into the hands of four of his secretaries, two of whom composed at first the two former volumes, such as they now appear; the two other secretaries, (those who were taken into the service of Sully at the time of his retreat,) were busy, at the same time, upon the first of his two following volumes, which comprises a space of five years, from 1605 to the death of Henry IV; and conceiving their labour incomplete, unless they should produce two volumes as well as their fellows, they fell to tumbling over all their master's papers, and at last attained their purpose. But notice must be taken, that they are not to be believed too easily with respect to the place where these Memoirs are said to be printed; for they had an interest in imposing upon the public, by making it be believed that these Memoirs were not printed in France.† Guy-Patin, father Le-Long, the abbé Lenglet; and several others, are confidant that the two first volumes were printed at the castle of Sully; and for the two last, it is a known fact that their first appearance was in an edition printed at Paris in 1662, by the care of the abbé Le-Laboureur.

In the Memoirs of Mademoiselle mention is made of letters, and a great number of other original pieces, which the count de Bethune kept with great care, and showed as a curiosity to those that came to see him.

* Epît. Limin du Tom. III. Tom. II. p. 410.

† Epit. Limin. ibid.

Of these, part, at least, may be thought the minutes of the duke of Sully. But since none of these pieces are found in the vast collection of manuscipts presented by the count de Bethune, in 1664, to the late king, we may conclude that, after the publication of these Memoirs, those minutes were destroyed as of no farther use; but, for my part, I make so little reckoning of the works of the compilers, that I could wish to have only the originals as they had them; for what they have given us of their own makes no essential addition, nor has any consequence but that of concealing the true work of Sully, which, in many places, cannot be distinguished or disentangled from theirs; for they did not content themselves with arranging their pieces according to the order of time, which was the best thing they were capable of doing.

I know not whether there is not even room to suspect them of having suppressed some pieces of considerable importance. One may safely charge them, at least, with having destroyed *The Treatise of War, The Marshal de Camp, The Military and Political Instructions,* and some other works of the duke of Sully, which have certainly been once in existence. They have been sought for in vain in the closet of the present duke of Sully,* notwithstanding the pains which he, who is so well known for his love of literature and antiquities, has taken to recover monuments which can contribute so much to the honour of his family. He has little more than some accounts and memoirs relating to the different employments of Maximilian duke of Sully, of which the substance is found in this book. The only manuscripts that raise much curiosity, are, the original copy of the first volume of the

* Louis Pierre-Maximilian de Bethune.

Memoirs of Sully, from which the impression was certainly taken: and the two last volumes of a kind of heroic romance, of which the two first have been lost. These adventures, or allegorical histories of that age, are entituled *Gelastide, ou les Illustres Princesses et belliqueuses Pucelles du puissant Empire de la grande Sclarame Dolosophomorie, les Slarazones diamantees, Percy de Rubicelle, et Pyrope;* titles as singular as that of the Memoirs of Sully, and which show that they are drawn up by the same hand.

It is possible that the loss of these originals is to be imputed to Sully himself, since his secretaries acted not only under his orders, but under his own eyes.* In that case we shall be forced to confess, that a little vanity, from which this minister was not free, kept him from suffering his Memoirs to appear in his own name: he perceived that he could not forbear to give himself the honour of the brightest part of the reign of Henry IV; and, not caring either to praise himself, or to lose the praise he had deserved, he determined to have that said by others which he could not modestly say himself.

He is charged with another fault, proceeding equally from vanity, but which, if we examine it well, may appear very pardonable; it is the freedom with which he acts and speaks. Let us hear, on this head, our old dissertator. "That stiff and haughty humour," says he, "which so often obliges his prince to speak first, and to open himself to him, if it had been softened and made more easy, would have been perhaps more perfect and more deserving of imitation; but, if the original was as it is represented, and nature had formed it of this cast, it ought not to be flattered or

* Tom III. p. 83 and 294.

disguised: if this gravity and general circumspection, which his enemies mention as a reproach to his memory, was the very quality which gave so much value to his ministry and his credit, we ought not to regret it in him as a blot, or condemn it as a defect." And, indeed, if a minister is of known honesty, and unsuspected of any bad design, why should he, in speaking to his master, or transacting business with him, recede from the privilege of following the severe dictates of truth? Without this liberty the condition of private men would be much happier than that of princes: but we may sufficiently prove, that Sully deserves no reproach of this kind, by observing that he never received any from his master, who not only allowed, but loved and praised his freedom of speech. Whatever may be said, for instance, of the famous promise of marriage which Sully tore in pieces in the hands of Henry, I see nothing in that affair which does not deserve admiration, and there is no fear that it shall be drawn into precedent.

The necessity of being beforehand with the reader for my own sake, has given occasion to these two remarks. I have considered it as indecent in Sully to relate all that happened of this kind with Henry IV, and as to personal commendations, I cut off what was uttered by secretaries, and could never have been said by him, and keep all that he has said or suffered others to say to him, that was for his own honour, or for that of the family of Bethune. In like manner I let all stand which the same vanity, joined with his religious prejudices, disposed him to advance with relation to the greatest families; such as the house of Austria, among others, or concerning private persons, to whom he has not always done justice; such as the dukes of

Nevers and Epernon, messieurs de Villeroi, Jeannin, and the cardinal d'Ossat, and others, amongst the Roman Catholics; and the dukes of Rohan, Bouillon, and La-Tremouille, Du-Plessis-Mornay; and to conclude, with respect to a society deserving esteem, for purity of manners, and the service it has done the public, by the education of youth, and the advancement of polite literature.

If I stop at this head, it is only to show how much I detest every species of prejudice; as for the rest, I know well enough that I shall never be called to account about it; it was my duty to preserve the groundwork of the original inviolate: and as that original, (which I am far from supposing that my work will destroy,) must always remain in its true state, it would appear against me, if I had dared to alter it, and furnish an accusation against me, of dishonesty and flattery. All that I have been able to do, and I protest I have done it only out of regard to justice, is to show my dislike by frequent corrections, from which alone the public is to judge of my real sentiments.

It appears indeed to me, that a single word is sufficient to put an end to the greatest part of the imputations thrown upon the Jesuists and other good Catholics by the duke of Sully: we must consider that they acted upon one principle, and that he judged of their actions upon another. It may be added, that in the circumstances under which these things took place, it was difficult to pass a right judgment upon the measures of the different parties: at present, when time has thrown new light upon their causes, motives, and means, we, who are neither carried away by the heat of action, nor overpowered by fear, hope, or desire, have, with respect to the subject on which we are treat-

ing, two opinions almost opposite: we detest the league, and have great reason to detest it: but, on the other hand, we judge, and with probability, that, without the league France was in danger of suffering the greatest of all evils, the loss of the true religion. If the Villerois, the d'Ossats, and others, stand in need of defence, this is the principle upon which they must be defended.

A motive of the same kind determined me likewise to write notes upon passages where Sully speaks unfavourably of the Spaniards, the English, and other neighbouring states. I am as far from applauding his prejudices as espousing his quarrels. To see nothing in other nations worthy of praise, is to be blind: to see it, and not own it, is to be weak.

Another article, which appears to me of yet greater importance, than all these, is the liberty with which the author sometimes discovers his particular principles, with respect to the very substance of religion. At first it was natural to imagine, that a man full of knowledge, reflection, and of good qualities, must have been very dangerous when he was led to speak of the reformed religion, to which it is well known the duke of Sully always remained a firm adherent: and such was my idea: but the first perusal of his Memoirs altered my opinion. I will quote, upon this occasion, for the last time, the writer whose testimony I have so often made use of, to show that these Memoirs cannot make, at this time, those impressions which they were unable to make when they were new. "It is not," says the author, "upon account of his religious opinions, that he is to be considered as a model, or as an original; we are too look into these Memoirs for a general, a master-general of the ordnance,

a superintendant of the finances, and a minister of an universal genius, concurring in all the schemes of his prince; but you are not here to expect a picture of a Christian, and much less of a Catholic." "—These books," says the same writer, in another place, "do not show him properly pious or religious because they do not show him a Catholic."

The author might have added another reason of yet greater force, which is, that when Sully represents himself either as a Huguenot or Catholic, that man, whose reasonings upon almost every other subject is solid and conclusive, appears so wretched as a divine, that the mere comparison of his writings with themselves is sufficient to confute him; besides, how many confessions are drawn from him by the force of truth? how much does he say against the mad determination of some Protestant synods, against the intrigues and bad designs of the chief of that party; against the mutinous and seditious temper of the whole body? It is something so singular, to see the duke of Sully by turns a Calvinist, and an enemy to Calvinists, that I thought it necessary to preserve whatever he has said on the subject of religion, lest, what I had suppressed had been thought of more importance than it really is. But I thought it necessary to be likewise liberal of my notes, in opposition to those passages,* and perhaps under the notion, that I could never be careful enough of weak minds, I may, without thinking of it, have shown some regard to my first scruples.

The notes have been considerably multiplied from another consideration. As I was desirous to make

* Mrs. Lennox, in her translation, has judiciously omitted several of these; they prove the author to have been a most intolerant bigot, and must have even been offensive, I think, to every liberal-minded Roman Catholic.

this work more clear and complete, I have shown the same regard to things of mere entertainment as for those of necessity. I could not prevail upon myself to skip over a fact obscurely or but slightly touched, without clearing it up and explaining it. In one place, therefore, will be found a passage of pure amusement, producing another of the same kind; in another place, a person of note is mentioned only by his name, and I have thought it necessary to add his christian or surname, his dignities or employments, and sometimes the year of his birth or his death. There are notes likewise, in which I have endeavoured to rectify false calculations and mistaken dates, and to adjust the valuation of coins: and on all these occasions, I have endeavoured to copy only from our best writers, and to draw immediately from the fountain-head: thus the Memoirs of the League, d'Etoile and de Nevers: les Chronologies Novennaire et Septennaire of Cayet and the Mercure François: messieurs de Thou, Perefixe, Matthieu, Davila, Le-Grain, d'Aubigné: the manuscripts of the king's library, the Letters of the cardinal d'Ossat,* &c. are my vouchers for facts: and for all the rest, my credit depends upon the books which have furnished the assistance that I happened to want. I have commonly contented myself with giving their words upon the subject before me, without entering into any disquisitions, except when contrariety of opinions seemed to require it. But notwithstanding this precaution, the margin of the five or six first books are somewhat crowded: nor was it in my power to do otherwise, the first years of Henry IV affording a prodigious number of facts of every sort, which Sully has only hinted at, or mentioned very slightly.

* For these letters I consulted the old folio edition, as also the old edition of L'Etoiles Memoirs.

To these might very properly have been added, notes upon politics, war, the finances, government, and naval affairs: and I could not but, in compliance with my inclination, scatter a few upon the last books particularly, of which the subject made them often useful, and sometimes absolutely necessary.

As to maxims and reflections, the only use that could properly have been made of them, was to scatter them here and there in the places where they have relation. With respect to another part of this work, I have taken a contrary method: I have brought together all that was said in different places upon the great and famous design of Henry IV, which seems often to break the narration in an unpleasant manner: and finding no place where a recital of so many particulars could be inserted, I made a book of it by itself. I may be suspected upon these last heads, of having made great additions to my original; but let the reader suspend his judgment till he has read it from beginning to end. I am well aware, that the necessity of arranging these materials in a different order, has given this work a kind of original air, which distinguishes it from common translations, without giving it the rank of a work of invention. There are many other places where it will be seen, that if I had thought myself entitled to an absolute authority over my original I should often have given it another cast. As to references, it was not possible to put them all in the margin, and they would have only tired the reader.

The letters, which are scattered here and there, I could only make useful, by casting them into a narrative, and joining them with the fact to which they relate: by this means, I have contrived to diversify my history, and have made the letters more useful than

they were before. It is common for those who write on things talked of by them before, to mention them imperfectly; these omissions I commonly supply by a note, when the matter is such as can be discovered, or deserves explanation; for of this prodigious number of letters, either of the king's or Sully's, the greater part contain only particulars of small importance: all these I consider as useless, and retrench them either wholly or in part: and I take the same course with the recitals that are too long, with trifling remarks, with diffuse memorials and regulations of the finances, drawn out in particularities: but when I find letters, conversations, or other pieces, truly original, I copy them faithfully, except when I meet with a word that would offend the ear, I change it for another: this I intend for the gratification of those readers who would complain, if in these ancient memoirs, the personages who are introduced should talk always like men of our own time, and judge of the pleasure they must receive from the singularity of the ancient language, by that which it gives to myself.

I have followed the usual method of dividing a historical work into books, rather than into chapters: there are here thirty books, reckoning the account of Henry's great project as one of them. Some were of opinion, that this project, having never been executed, might have been omitted: but it seemed to me to make so considerable a part of Sully's Memoirs, that the public were likely to be offended with its suppression.

I thought it not fit for my purpose to proceed farther than the retreat of Sully, in which I have ventured to differ from my original: but besides, that, according to my scheme, I saw no use to be made of the pieces which had no relation either to Sully or Henry IV. I thought, judging of these pieces critically, that they

did not deserve much attention from mankind. I find nothing in the fourth volume which can truly be called the work of the duke of Sully, more than what he says of the new court, of the council, and of himself, till his departure from Paris: together with the regulations that he had formed for different purposes, and the evidence he gives of the great design of Henry IV. As to the furious invective against Villeroi, and the other pieces belonging to the reign of Lewis XIII, and, in a word, whatever is contained in the two hundred last pages of the fourth volume, the whole is apparently of another hand: so immethodical, so unconnected, and at the same time so trifling and so dull, that I could look upon it only as a thing compiled by one of his secretaries, without judgment, and for this only purpose, as themselves confess, that the last volume might be as large as the former:* all this is to be ranked with the panegyrics, sonnets, and other pieces, both in French and Latin: which the reader, if such things happen to please him, may look for in the original.

As we cannot learn from these Memoirs what became of the duke of Sully from his retreat to his death, and as the reader may be curious about him, I have given a supplement. Nothing of the lives of great men should be lost or neglected: this supplement is more full and interesting than I at first could promise myself, by means of the information with which the duke of Sully has been pleased to supply me.

I make use, as I have already said, of the edition in folio; it is properly in four volumes, though in some libraries it is bound in two: the first and second of these volumes were printed at Amsterdam, that is to say, at Sully, without the date of the year or the name of the printer, for that which appears at its head is counter-

* Epît. Limin. du Tom. III.

feit· this is commonly called the green-letter edition, on account of its VVV, and its vignette, coloured with green. The third and fourth volume, printed at Paris, by permission, by Augustine Courbé, in 1662; this edition is incorrect, but some of the others are mutilated, which is worse. I shall here enumerate the subsequent editions: the two first volumes were reprinted at Rouen, 1649, in two volumes in folio: in a smaller letter, at Amsterdam, 1654, in four volumes 12°: at Paris, 1664, by Courbé, in two volumes in folio. The third and fourth volumes were reprinted at Paris, 1663, in eight volumes 12°: and at the same time at Rouen, in seven volumes 12°. The last edition is that of Trevoux, in 1725, in twelve volumes 12°.

What I have here to add is to assure the public, that I respect it too much to expose myself to its censure, by any faults that labour and attention could enable me to avoid: and as for any others, as they may serve, if not to correct my work, at least to mend myself for the future, I am so far from endeavouring to obviate them, that I entreat the world not to spare them: they shall never find me claiming the indulgence naturally due to the first attempt, nor do I plead my situation in excuse: though my situation was so little propitious to this kind of labour, that I should have seen myself obliged to throw it up, had I not been assisted by persons whose generosity was equal to their zeal for the advancement of learning. This confession is due to truth. I should likewise be guilty of extreme ingratitude, if I omitted to make it known, that a man of genius and candour, who had been intimately acquainted with the two late dukes of Sully, not only gave me the first notion of this work, but assisted me likewise to form the plan, and promoted the execution by all the means which his friendship or generosity could dictate.

A BRIEF

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO

SULLY'S MEMOIRS.

THOUGH the first causes of the religious civil wars which raged for so long a period between the Catholics and Protestants in France, may be dated as far back as the year 1533, (about which time Calvin began to preach in the kingdom of Navarre, under the protection of queen Margaret, sister of Francis the first of France,) yet it will be sufficient for the purpose of an Introduction to these Memoirs, to commence the relation of events with the year 1599, when Francis the second ascended the throne. At this period, the persecution of the reformed was at its height; the most severe decrees had been issued against them in the last days of Henry the second—they were condemned to the stake wherever found—and all persons who attended, or were privy to any of their meetings for the purposes of devotion, were also sentenced to death.*

These severe measures, however, produced none of the effects expected from them; instead of diminishing, the numbers of the Protestants daily increased, and

* To prevent a repetition of references, it may here be observed that the authors consulted for the detail of events in this Introduction, were, principally, Davila, Castelnau and Montluc.

seeing themselves every where deprived of all protection from the laws, and their lives and property at the mercy of every person who chose to inform against them, they at length began to consider of means for their own defence, and to revenge themselves, in some instances, upon their persecutors. The first violent act committed by (or at least ascribed to) them, was the assassination of the first president of the parliament; and, soon after, of one Fresne, who was carrying papers to the parliament relative to the prosecution of some Protestant of distinction. It is, nevertheless, highly probable, that all their efforts would have proved fruitless, had they not been at once called forth and directed by some of the most illustrious persons in the kingdom, namely, Antony king of Navarre (Henry the fourth's father), his brother Louis prince of Condé, first princes of the blood, admiral Coligny and his brother d'Andelot, besides many others, all of whom either openly professed the reformed religion, or were known secretly to favour it. From this moment religion became blended with politics; and while the Catholics, as well as the Protestants, professed to combat only for the maintenance of their respective faiths, it is but too apparent that ambition and the love of power were the principal objects for which the chiefs, at least, of both parties contended: and here, in order to detail more clearly the succession of events, it will be necessary to describe the state of the court at the commencement of the year 1560.

Immediately after the accession of Francis the second, the government was distracted by the rival contentions of the princes of the blood on one side, and Catherine de Medicis, the queen-mother, and the house of Guise on the other. It was always the custom dur-

ing the minority of a king, for the government to be placed in the hands of the princes of the blood;—in this case, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, ought to have been called to the head of affairs: this right, however, was successfully contested by the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine, who, though both foreigners, pretended to an equal claim to it, as well from their alliance to the king through his marriage with their niece, Mary of Scotland, as from the great services which they had rendered the kingdom, but more particularly from the share they had enjoyed of the government during the preceding reign. The queen-dowager, who as ardently aspired to the administration of affairs as either of the above parties, fearful, that should the princes succeed in obtaining what in justice belonged to them, her power and influence would be at an end, espoused the cause of the Guises, and all three determined to share the government amongst themselves to the utter exclusion of the princes of Bourbon, whom they next contrived, under various pretexts, to remove to a distance from the court.

When the princes thus found themselves not only denied all participation in affairs, but even of access to the young king, they immediately held a consultation together, on the conduct they should pursue. For this purpose, the king of Navarre repaired to Vendome, where he was joined by the prince of Condé, admiral Coligny, and his brothers d'Andelot and the cardinal Chatillon, Charles count Rochefoucault, the vidamme de Chartres, and Anthony prince Portiane, together with a great number of other persons of distinction, adherents or dependents on the houses of Bourbon and Chatillon. The constable Montmorency, who had been lately disgraced, and his post given to the duke of Guise,

was represented by his secretary, whom he sent thither to explain his sentiments. In this assembly the prince of Condé, the vidamme, d'Andelot, and several others, strongly insisted upon the necessity of immediately taking up arms: while, on the other hand, the king of Navarre, the admiral, prince Portiane, and the secretary of the constable, in the name of his master, were of directly contrary sentiments. Nothing, they said, was to be expected or hoped, from hostile measures: for though they acted with no other view than to free the king and kingdom from the dominion of the Guises, yet their conduct would be attributed to other motives, and they would be branded with the name of traitors, who had risen in rebellion against their lawful sovereign: and, therefore, recommended an attempt to gain over to their party the queen-mother, on whose protection all the power of their enemies was founded. These opinions prevailed, and the king of Navarre was accordingly deputed to the court, there by his representations and arguments to endeavour to persuade the king, and queen Catherine, to admit them to some share in the government, and to restore to their former offices those who had been deprived of them.

The duke of Guise and the cardinal, being fully informed of all the proceedings at Vendome, had made such representations to the king, and so far persuaded him of the ill intentions of the princes and their followers, that when the king of Navarre arrived at Paris, he could with difficulty obtain an audience of Francis, and that only in the presence of the duke of Guise or his brother. The king was deaf to all his remonstrances, and rejected all his demands. Nor was he more successful with queen Catherine, who was determined to adhere firmly to the party she had espous-

ed, as the only means, she possessed, of retaining her present power. In the hope, however, of preventing an open rupture, and to avert the fatal effects of a civil war, which she was sensible would be the consequence, if matters were pushed to extremities, she endeavoured to detach the king of Navarre from the others: and by flattering promises of future honours, when her son should have attained to full age, and an offer of the honourable distinction of conducting the king's sister to the frontiers of Spain, she was so far successful that he abandoned all the objects of his mission, and accompanied by a splendid retinue of noblemen and gentlemen, quitted Paris with the young princess, and after conducting her to the foot of the Pyrenees, retired to his former residence in Bearn in Navarre, determined to reject all proposals for taking up arms.

The prince of Condé, and the others, finding themselves abandoned by him whom they had appointed as their chief, the former convened at la Ferté, his patrimonial estate, on the borders of Champagne, another assembly of all his adherents and dependents; and shortly after a third was held at Nantes, where, after various expedients were suggested, it was at length determined to make use of the Protestants, now ripe for revolt, in various parts, but particularly in the south of France, as affording the most speedy, and only means of raising a force sufficiently formidable to cope with that which, they well knew, would be sent against them the moment their hostile designs should be fully known. Agents were accordingly dispatched in secrecy into Gascony, Bearn, Limoges, Saintonge, Picardy, Provence, la Brie, and Champagne, to excite the reformed to take up arms: a pro-

posal to which they listened, perhaps, with the more readiness, from the prince of Condé and Coligny, d'Andelot, prince Portiane, and several of the others being of the same religion as themselves. The court at this time resided at Blois, where, according to some writers, it was resolved, in consequence of the determinations of the late assembly at Nantes, to make an attempt to seize the two Guises, and either put them to death or banish them the kingdom, and place the princes of the blood at the head of affairs: others say it was only intended to present a petition to the king against the duke and cardinal: while others again assert that it was their intention to put the king and queen-mother to death. Whichever of these was their design, the principal conduct of it was entrusted to one Renaudé, who, after quitting Nantes, repaired to the prince of Condé at Blois, (whither, the better to cloak their intentions he had gone, while the admiral retired to his estates at Chatillon,) in order to inform him more particularly of all that had been agreed upon. From Blois he went to Paris, where he communicated the whole design to a Protestant lord in that city, who, it is said, being alarmed at the boldness and danger of the enterprize, gave immediate intelligence of it to the cardinal of Lorraine. Upon this, the duke of Guise prevailed on the king and court to remove to the castle of Ambois, as to a place of greater security as well from its strength, as from the difficulty of access to it.

The plan adopted by the conspirators was, for a body of unarmed Protestants to present themselves before the gates of Blois, there to require leave to present a petition to the king praying for liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their religion: and as it was not doubted that this request would be denied

them, a considerable armed force under chosen leaders was to be nigh at hand, which, on a given signal, was to rush forward and seize the place. Renaudé was ignorant of the removal of the court, till he arrived at the gates of Blois with the unarmed multitude: he was not, however, disconcerted by this intelligence, but, on the contrary, advanced immediately to Ambois: here, instead of gaining admittance to the king, they were forcibly driven back by the soldiers who guarded the gates, and obliged to separate into small bodies in the adjacent country, in expectation of the armed force which was appointed to follow them: but, not long after, a captain Linieres, one of the party, deserted into Ambois, and gave the king the most certain information of the whole plot, the numbers of the conspirators, the names of the leaders, and the roads by which they were approaching: on this, guards were immediately set over the prince of Condé to watch his motions, and an ambush of horse placed in the adjoining woods under the command of the marshal St. André and the duke of Nemours, for the purpose of intercepting all persons advancing to the castle. The Protestant levies which had been made in Bearn were the first who fell into this ambush: they became panic struck, could neither defend themselves nor retreat, and were all surrounded and made prisoners. The Gascons under the command of the baron de Castelneau de Chalosse having reached Noisy, that place was surrounded by the troops of the duke of Nevers, and they being unable to make any effectual resistance, yielded at discretion, and were all conducted prisoners to Ambois. In the mean while, Renaudé had again penetrated as far as the gates of the place, where he was attacked by a body of troops under the lord de

Pardaillon, whom he slew in the rencounter: but was immediately after shot dead by Pardaillon's page: and nearly the whole of his followers likewise fell upon the spot.

When the other parties on the following day heard of these disasters, they determined in a fit of desperation to storm the gates of Ambois, under the conduct of de la Motte, and Cocqueville, the only two leaders, who were now left them; but though they acted with great bravery and resolution, they were every where repulsed, and being presently afterwards assailed in the rear by the troops of horse which had been scouring the adjacent country, they were nearly all put to the sword. Of the few who were made prisoners the principal were reserved for examination, while the others were immediately hung up on gibbets along the road-side leading to Ambois. Such was the termination of this most rash and ill judged enterprise, from which is to be more immediately dated all the miseries and devastation to which France was so long a prey:—the Protestants were now considered not merely as heretics but as rebels, who under the cloak of religion had conspired against the lives of the king and his mother, and, in addition to their former sufferings from the clergy, were every where subject to the violence and outrages of the military.

The duke of Guise, profiting of the terror into which the conspiracy had thrown the weak young king, procured the appointment of himself to the post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom: and his first step, after being invested with this new dignity, was to persuade Francis to bring the authors of the conspiracy to justice. As the admiral and his brother d'Andelot were known to be favourers of the Protestants, and there-

fore likewise suspected of being among the secret abettors of the late proceedings of the party, attempts were made, by means of letters and flattering messages from the king, and queen-mother to draw them to the court. As to the prince of Condé, he was accused of having been privy to it, which was farther strengthened by some expressions he had used on seeing the cruelties which were exercised upon the wretched pesantry who had been lately made prisoners. The prince, in order publicly to justify his conduct, entreated that he might be heard in a full assembly of the nobles, which was granted: though the assembly broke up without coming to any decision favourable to him. He was, however, soon after liberated, and together with the family of Chatillon, retired from the court, which he had scarcely quitted before orders were issued to arrest him; but this was done with so little secresy, that he was immediately informed of it, when, the better to elude his pursuers, he made show of returning thither by ordering his equipage to Blois, while he himself escaped by the road to Poitiers, from whence he sent Genlis to the king and the duke of Guise, to acquaint them, amongst other things, that he was resolved to put himself at the head of the Huguenots.*

* Castelnau (b. II, c. 7.) says, "this name took its rise from the conspiracy of Ambois; for when some of the petitioners fled for fear, some of the country women said they were poor fellows, not worth a *Huguenot*, a small piece of money of less value than a denier, in the time of Hugo Capet, from which, by way of ridicule, they were afterwards called *Huguenots*." But it would seem they had been so termed long before the conspiracy of Ambois, though historians are at a loss to account for the true origin of the term; the following various opinions are collected by Nugent in a note on his translation of Hénault's Chronological Abridgment of the History of France, vol. I, p. 406. "Some derive it from John Hus; as much as to say, *les guenons de Hus*, the *apes of Hus*. Others from Hugh

This information did not fail to alarm the court, as every thing was to be apprehended from the bold and resolute spirit of the prince: both the duke of Guise and his brother saw that a civil war was on the eve of breaking out, and the better to discover, if possible, the real intentions of the prince, and also of the king of Navarre, the marshal St. André was sent into Gascony; but as they were informed of the object of his mission, they regulated their conduct accordingly. The prince, however, could not long temporize; he wrote to all his friends to join with him: but his messenger was seized and carried to Fontainebleau; amongst the letters found on him, was one from the vidamme de Chartres offering his assistance against all persons except the royal family, for which the vidamme was

Capet; the Huguenots defending the right of his descendants to the crown, against the house of Guise, who pretended to be descended from Charlemagne. There are some who deduce it from Hugh the Sacramentarian, who taught the same doctrine as Calvin, in the reign of Charles IV. Others derive it from the harangue of a German, who being taken and interrogated by the cardinal of Lorrain concerning the conspiracy of Ambois, stopped short in his harangue, which began with these words, *huc nos venimus*, we are come hither; and the courtiers, not understanding Latin, said to one another, these fellows are come from *Huc nos*. Pasquier relates, that the common people at Tours were persuaded that a hobgoblin or night spirit, called king *Hugo*, ran about the town at night; and as the reformed assembled in the night to perform their devotions, from thence they were called *Huguenots;* as much as to say, the *disciples of king Hugo:* and this opinion appears the most plausible. Others affirm it was owing to their meeting near the gate called *Hugon*. Others, in fine, and, among the rest, M. Voltaire, derive it from the *Eidgnossen* of Geneva. There had been two parties for some time in that city; one of the Protestants, and the other of the Roman Catholics. The former were called *Egnots*, from the German word *Eidgnossen, allied by oath;* and at length triumphed over the latter. Hence the French Protestants, who were before styled Lutherans, began to be distinguished by the name of *Egnots*, which, by corruption, was changed into that of *Huguenots*." (*Henault's Chronological Abridgment of the History of France, Vol.* 1. *p.* 406. note.)

sent to the bastille, where he soon after died, greatly lamented for his abilities.

At this alarming crisis of affairs, the queen-mother had recourse to the chancellor de l'Hopital and admiral Coligny, whose advice she earnestly entreated, and through their representations she was prevailed upon to convene an assembly of the principal persons of the kingdom at Fontainebleau, at which she, the king, and his brothers, were present, as also the cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine, the dukes of Guise and Aumale, the constable Montmorency (who came with a train of six hundred horse to the great displeasure of the duke and cardinal), the chancellor de l'Hopital, marshals St. André and Brissac, the admiral, the archbishop of Vienne, the bishops of Orleans and Valence, and many others. Here the admiral stated that the chief causes of discontent arose from the persecutions on account of religion; that he was the bearer of a petition from the people of Normandy, humbly praying for redress on this point; and after many arguments, concluded with entreating the king, and queen-mother to grant the petitioners liberty of conscience and the free and unrestrained exercise of their religion. Though a great proportion of the persons present in this assembly supported the admiral, the influence of the cardinal of Lorraine prevailed, and obtained its rejection, and all that was decided upon in it, was a resolution to call a meeting of the states in the month of December following.

Whilst these measures were in agitation, information was sent to the court that the Huguenots in Dauphiné had broken into open rebellion, and had nearly succeeded in an attempt to surprise the city of Lyons. The prince of Condé being implicated in this revolt,

the house of Guise endeavoured, but without success, to prevail upon the king of Navarre to send him to court in order, as they pretended, to clear himself from this accusation. The king replied that he was well assured of his brother's innocence and fidelity, and should have no difficulty in bringing him to court, did he not know that the great influence which his enemies possessed over the mind of the king rendered such a measure dangerous to his brother's safety. The prince also excused himself from going, in nearly the same terms.

However, notwithstanding this declaration of the two brothers, they were at length prevailed upon, by repeated letters, and solicitations from the queen-mother and the king, to promise they would be present at the approaching assembly of the states. This, as had been at first agreed on, was to be held at Meaux, but the duke of Guise, ever fearful of plots and conspiracies against his person and power, contrived to have Orleans appointed for that purpose, as being more in the centre of the kingdom, a fortified city, and consequently less liable to be surprised by any sudden attempt of his enemies. Hither the king, and queen-mother repaired in the middle of October, and in the last of the same month, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé; the latter was immediately arrested, and put under a guard, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his brother, and his offers to be answerable for his person; and, at the same time, madam de Roy, the admiral's sister, and mother-in-law to the prince, was arrested and sent to St. Germains, on a charge of being concerned in the conspiracy of Amboise.

It was not long before the prince of Condé was brought to trial, and being convicted, though on very slender evidence, or rather no evidence at all, of high-treason, he was sentenced to lose his life, and this sentence, doubtless, would have soon been carried into effect had not an event taken place, which completely changed the whole state of the court; this was the death of Francis the second, which happened on the fifth of December, 1560.

Charles the ninth, on whom the crown now devolved, was only ten years of age, consequently the princes of the blood still had the same, or even stronger claims to the administration of the government during his minority, as in the preceding reign. Queen Catherine, fully sensible, by what had already occurred, of the danger of resisting these claims, yet unwilling herself to resign entirely the power she enjoyed, now determined to gain over to her side the king of Navarre and the rest of the house of Bourbon, and to hold the regency entirely in her own hands; and the better to accomplish this, she set the prince of Condé at liberty, who not long after obtained an arret declaring him innocent of the charges alleged against him; to the king of Navarre she promised the post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and effected a reconciliation between him and the house of Guise, who now no longer shared in the administration of affairs: but, notwithstanding this reconciliation, the nation was still divided into two parties; the one of the princes of the blood, the other of the Guises: and by dexterously preserving the balance between these two parties did Catherine hope to retain the sole government of the kingdom. Another consequence of this change in affairs was the repeal of all judicial proceedings against

the Huguenots, and the liberation of those persons who had been confined either as accomplices of the prince, or for their religious opinions. These, and various other circumstances at this time concurred to give the Huguenots great hopes that the persecutions under which they had so long suffered would soon be at an end: their most bitter enemies, the duke of Guise and the cardinal, had lost much of their power: in the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, who had publicly embraced the reformed religion, they had just reason to trust for the support of their cause with the queen-mother: from the speech which the chancellor de l'Hopital delivered in the assembly of the states it was evident that he was not an enemy to the reformed religion: and some of the states had even proposed that the king of Navarre should be appointed regent of the kingdom. But these hopes were considerably disappointed, when they learnt, that the assembly had separated without coming to any decision favourable to them, and without even taking the petition into consideration which had been presented by the admiral at Fontainebleau, as already mentioned.

In this extremity, the Protestants again applied to the admiral to interpose in their favour, who, in conjunction with the king of Navarre and the prince, presented another petition to the king, which was referred to the privy council: but being considered as an affair of the greatest importance it was laid before the parliament, where it was discussed during nearly two months, and after various and opposite opinions, an edict was at length passed in July, 1561, prohibiting all further persecutions on account of religion, but, at the same time, forbidding the exercise of any

other than the Roman Catholic, either publicly or privately.

The publication of this edict (usually called *the Edict of July*) afforded much satisfaction and relief to the Huguenots: and it was not long before they began to hold religious disputations, and to meet in private houses for the celebration of marriages, and the administration of the sacraments. They even presented another petition for places of public worship: this, however, was denied them, though the public meetings which they held were connived at.*

Among other particular events of this year relating to religion, was a conference at Poissy between the Catholic and reformed ministers; of the latter, the most considerable persons present were Peter Martyr, and

* The following curious extract from the Memoirs of Margaret de Valois, first wife of Henry IV, plainly show that many persons even in the heart of the court, at this time strongly favoured the reformed religion: "At the time of the Colloquy at Poissy, all the court was inclined to the new religion by the imperious persuasion of many lords and ladies of the court, and especially of my brother of Anjou, since king of France [Henry III,], whose infancy could not avoid an impression of that religion, who with incessant importunity did call upon me to change my religion, casting oftentimes my Howres into the fire, and giving me instead of them, the prayers and psalms of the Huguenots, constraining me to take them, which as soon as I received them, I gave them to Madam de Curton, my governess, whom God in mercy to me had preserved still a Catholic, and who oftentimes would go with me to that good man the cardinal of Tournon, who did counsaile and encourage me to suffer all things for the maintenance of my religion, and gave me new Howres and beads in the place of those which my brother of Anjou had burned; and some other friends of his who were zealous to preserve me, observing me again to wear them, transported with choler, would offer injury unto me, affirming that it was mere childishness and folly that made me do so, saying it did well appear that I had no capacity, that all those who were of any discretion, of whatever age or sex they were, hearing grace preached, were retired from the abuses of the old superstition, but I, they said, was as very a fool as my governess." *Memorials of Margaret de Valoys*, translated by Robert Codrington, 1661, p. 7.

Theodore Beza, while those of the former were some of the most distinguished doctors of the Sorbonne: here Beza had a private conference with the cardinal of Lorraine, and was also heard, together with twelve other ministers, before the privy-council, at which the king and queen were present, where he boldly and unequivocally denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. Several other proceedings of a similar nature took place; but which produced nothing except useless controversy, and mutual accusations of heresy, error, and superstition. The conferences terminated in November.

The Catholics, as was naturally to be expected, could not behold with indifference the assemblies of the reformed, when in defiance of the late edict, particularly as these assemblies were now common in almost every part of the kingdom, and even in the capital itself: accordingly, a serious affray took place at the close of this year in the suburbs of St. Marcel, in Paris, where a congregation of Huguenots being assembled in a garden adjoining a Catholic chapel, as soon as the minister began to preach, the Catholics began to ring the bells and make such an uproar, that the congregation were unable to hear his discourse, and when the latter sent persons to entreat the priests to cease, the messengers and they came to blows, and one of the former was killed. On this the Huguenots broke into the chapel, beat down the images, and threatened to set fire to the steeple if the priests did not cease to annoy their assembly; for all which the Catholics next day took vengeance by burning the forms, and other seats in the place where the Protestants had met.

To remedy these disorders and outrages, a council was immediately held by the queen-mother, and ano-

ther edict issued in January, 1562, granting to the Huguenots the free exercise of their religion in the suburbs of all cities provided they came unarmed: and to remove as much as possible all animosities between the principal persons in the court, Catherine at this time effected a reconciliation between the duke of Guise and the cardinal, and the prince of Condé: but the Protestants had scarcely begun to enjoy all the advantages of these favourable dispositions of the court, before they were deserted by the king of Navarre, who was so far wrought upon and flattered by the pope's legate and the Spanish ambassador, that he united seriously with the house of Guise, the constable, and the marshal St. André: this union, while it sunk the hopes and expectations of the Protestants, again emboldened their enemies, to insult and obstruct them in their meetings; and in many places, under pretence that they held seditious assemblies, they were severely punished, and often put to death.

The king of Navarre, after his union with the Catholics, took up his residence in Paris, where the prince of Condé also resided. Here, either through jealousy, or to prevent any disturbances which might be apprehended from the prince's openly protecting the Protestant divines, in and about that city, the king attempted to compel him to quit the capital, whither at the same time, the better to strengthen his party, he invited the constable and the duke of Guise. By this proceeding the court became again distracted with two factions: the one of the persons just mentioned, at the head of the Catholics, and the other of the prince of Condé, admiral Coligny, and d'Andelot, the chiefs of the Huguenots.

The desertion of the king of Navarre, and the return of the house of Guise to power, naturally spread alarm and distrust amongst the reformed, which was unfortunately confirmed by an affair which took place at Vassy, in March, 1562; the duke of Guise happening to pass through that place with a large retinue in his way to Paris, on a Sunday morning while the Protestants were celebrating divine service in a barn, and some of the duke's attendants going thither, words arose, and a fray ensued in which many persons were slain on both sides, and the duke himself wounded, in endeavouring to restore order. This unlucky accident, which is usually termed the *massacre of Vassy*, occasioned a great ferment amongst all the reformed throughout France. The prince of Condé, the chancellor l'Hopital, and the admiral were loud in their complaints to the queen-mother; and the preachers in their sermons aggravated it by exaggerated representations of the facts, while the Catholics, attributed it entirely to accident, and the religious zeal of each party. The inhabitants of Paris fearing some commotion might happen in the city, in consequence of what had taken place at Vassy, fresh attempts were made to induce the prince of Condé to quit it, as his presence, it was feared, would encourage, and embolden the Protestants to revenge the death of their brethren, who had lately fallen. On this the prince, in hopes of strengthening himself with the queen-regent, repaired immediately to Fontainebleau, where the court then resided; but the king of Navarre, Guise, and St. André reached that place before him, and almost by force carried the young king and his mother to Paris, in which a strong garrison was placed to prevent any surprise.

This was the last effort of the prince and his party to keep terms with the court: they now had recourse to open force, and began with surprising Orleans, which was effected by the skill and judgment of d'Andelot, the admiral's brother. As soon as the triumvirate at Paris learnt this, they ordered, in direct violation of the last edict, all the houses in the suburbs of the city in which the Protestants assembled to be burnt: in effecting which several of the ministers were killed, and others thrown into prison. This act of violence only served to widen still farther the breach between the two parties: a great many of the Protestant noblemen and gentlemen repaired to Orleans, to the prince of Condé, who was soon joined by the admiral, prince Portian, the counts de la Rochefoucault and Montgomery, together with a number of officers, soldiers, and persons of common rank. Here the prince was declared chief, and immediately issued a manifesto, stating, amongst other things, that they had been compelled to take up arms, as well to redress the wrongs done to the king and royal family, as to maintain the observance of the January edict, which had been lately violated, and prohibited at Paris: and concluding with a solemn declaration that they were all resolved to die together for the honour of God, the liberty of the king and his family, and the preservation of the laws.

As soon as the queen-regent received a copy of this manifesto, she dispatched a letter to the prince, in which she used every argument in her power to induce him to abandon his designs, and to quit the Huguenots: but it was all in vain—the die was now cast, and both parties prepared seriously for war: the court ordered an immediate levy of forces throughout the

kingdom, and the prince on his part wrote to all the Protestant assemblies to furnish troops, with every other thing necessary for the support and preservation of their religion: and to be before-hand with their enemies, they siezed on a great number of towns and cities, amongst which were Blois, Poitiers, Tours, Angiers, Beaugency, Rochel, Rouen, Dieppe, and Havre, besides several fortresses, all the country about Avignon, Lyons, Grenoble, and various other places.

Catherine, after another unsuccessful attempt to avert a civil war, now gave orders for the troops which were quartered about Paris to take the field, and advance towards Orleans, where the chief forces of the Protestants were assembled. As soon as the prince learned this, he likewise put his troops in motion, and marched against the royal army, as far as a village called Talsy, where he determined to give them battle. Here the queen made another effort to accommodate all differences, in an interview which she had with the prince and some of his principal followers, in the presence of the king of Navarre: but the minds of both parties were so heated, and jealousy and hatred had risen to so great a height between them, that all propositions were equally rejected on both sides. Another interview took place at Beaugency with no better success, after which Catherine determined to carry on the war with the utmost vigour.

The admiral finding their party not sufficiently strong, prevailed on the prince not to hazard an engagement, but to wait till the reinforcements which were expected should arrive. He accordingly retired: on which the royal army laid siege to Blois, which they presently took: Tours was soon after yielded, in which many of the Huguenots were put to death by the in-

habitants, for having destroyed the images and relics which they found in the churches. In revenge for this the prince retook Beaugency, (which had been given up when the conference was held there,) and put nearly the whole of the royal garrison left in it to the sword. The king's army next took Bourges and Angiers, in which great numbers of the Huguenots were slain.

The count of Montgomery, who was at this time at the head of a body of Huguenots in Lower Normandy, being compelled by the grand-prior of France, to retire to Rouen, that city was soon after besieged by the duke d'Aumale; the king, the queen-mother, the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guise were likewise present at this siege, which was carried on with great obstinacy on both sides, for a considerable time; but the place was at last taken by assault, and the miserable inhabitants exposed for eight days to all the fury of the soldiery, who plundered them without any regard either to Huguenots or Catholics. During the siege, the king of Navarre received a wound, of which he died soon after; the duke of Nevers also was slain in the assault, together with a considerable number of other persons of distinction. The count of Montgomery and the principal Huguenots escaped in the night on board some gallies which were lying in the harbour.

As soon as Rouen had surrendered, the court returned to Paris, while the constable who commanded the army, turned his attention towards Havre, into which some English forces under the earl of Warwick had been lately received by the Protestants: he therefore ordered count Rhingrave, who commanded a body of German troops in the royal army, to lay siege to that place, and to block up the adjoining ports, in order to cut off all communication between the English and the

interior of the country: the besieged, however, frequently made successful sallies upon the count's army, and slew great numbers.

The flame of civil war had now spread over the whole kingdom, and unhappily, for the cause of humanity, was, like all wars undertaken for the sake of religion, every where marked by the most cruel and savage actions; zeal for their respective faiths, revenge of former injuries and insults, added to a thirst for plunder, so animated every individual of each party, that no opportunity was suffered to escape in which either of these passions could be gratified. This was more particularly the case in Provence, Dauphiné, and Guienne, as is fully proved by the testimony of marshal Montluc, who, in his Commentaries appears to detail with a sort of savage delight, the numerous cruelties which he exercised upon the Protestants in the latter province.

The parliament of Paris, next made an attempt to deprive the Protestants of their chiefs, by declaring all those in Orleans traitors, except the prince of Condé, who, they set forth, was retained a prisoner by them: but the prince answered this declaration by justifying his followers, and charging the parliament with hatred towards them, and partiality to the house of Guise, whom he accused of having said they would never observe any treaties concluded with the Protestants. The court having also written to the emperor and the German princes to dissuade them from assisting the Protestants with troops, the prince, on his part, took care to send messengers thither fully to explain the nature of the present contest, and to justify his conduct: in which he was so far successful that the landgrave of Hesse not only gave d'Andelot all possible assistance in

making levies of German troops, but even marched with them himself, and joined the prince's army near Orleans. With this reinforcement, which arrived towards the conclusion of the year, the prince boldly resolved upon besieging Paris, and after leaving d'Andelot with a strong garrison in Orleans, set out for that purpose. In his march he took several towns, and at length encamped at Arcueil near Paris, while the duke of Guise, the better to defend the city, fixed himself in the suburbs.

To preserve the capital from the danger to which it was thus exposed, and to gain time for the arrival of supplies that were expected from Spain and Gascony, the court proposed a treaty, and for this purpose the constable repaired as a hostage to the prince's camp, while the admiral went into the city to confer with the queen-mother: but the privileges of the January edict being denied, the conference was instantly broken off: it was afterwards renewed in one of the suburbs, though with no success.

This suspension of hostilities was particularly disadvantageous to the prince, for many persons in both armies having an opportunity of seeing their friends and relations, numbers of the Protestants were persuaded to desert to the king, or to retire to their homes: this, with the arrival of the expected succours, compelled the prince to raise the seige, and retire into Normandy, where he hoped to be able to winter his army: his force at this time was about nine thousand infantry, and four thousand horse. He was immediately pursued by the constable at the head of the royal army, (consisting of near fourteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse,) in the hope of bringing him to a battle, and thus prevent his reaching the English in Nor-

mandy, from whom the prince expected money for the pay of his army, now become very urgent for it, particularly the foreign troops. On the eighteenth of December, the constable came up with the Protestants near Dreux, where, after a very severe action, in the early part of which they had a decided advantage, and in which the greatest bravery and obstinacy was shown by each of the armies, the latter were completely routed: the loss on both sides amounted to from six to eight thousand men, and what is remarkable, both the commanders were made prisoners: the chief person of distinction who fell, was the marshal St. André. The ampiral, on whom the command now devolved, effected his retreat in the night with the remains of the army, a part of the cannon, and all the baggage, and marching through the country of Beauce, reached Dangeau, where he was unanimously chosen commander in chief, till the prince of Condé should be exchanged: from whence he intended to enter Sologne and Berry, there to refresh his army; but learning that the duke of Guise was in pursuit of him, he crossed the Loire in the beginning of January, 1563, and took Selles and some other small places. The duke of Guise, having a large train of artillery was unable to come up with him; he however recovered some towns in his march, and at last sat down before Orleans.

As soon as the admiral heard that Orleans was threatened with a siege, he directed his march thither: and after refreshing his men, and reinforcing the garrison under his brother d'Andelot, he with much persuasion induced the German horse to follow him into Normandy. About this time the king published a general amnesty, to all such Protestants as would lay down their arms and return to their homes: and the queen-

mother at the same time endeavoured to stop the admiral's advance into Normandy, by holding out proposals for an accommodation: but he continued his march as far as Dives, from whence, after halting a few days, to learn some intelligence of the aid from England, he continued his route to Caen, to which he laid siege, and presently compelled it to surrender: by means of detachments from his army he also took Honfleur and Bayeux, while the count of Montgomery, who had landed at Havre from England (whither he fled after his escape from Rouen) with some troops, accompanied by Throgmorton, who brought over the money Elizabeth had promised to the Protestants, gained Vire and several other places.

During the admiral's successful career in Normandy, the duke of Guise began the siege of Orleans, some of the suburbs of which he had taken, and reduced the city to the greatest extremity, when he fell by the hand of a soldier named Poltrot; this young man had quitted Lyons, and come to the camp before Orleans, for the express purpose of assassinating the duke; the better to favour his design, he entered into the Catholic army as a deserter from the Protestants; and, after following the duke for three days, at last found an opportunity to carry it into effect on the evening of the 18th of February, when he mortally wounded him in the shoulder with three poisoned bullets. Such was the melancholy termination of the life of Francis duke of Guise, after having, during the two preceding reigns, as well as the present, filled the most important stations in the cabinet and the field, and by his actions rendered his name celebrated in every part of Europe. As he had always shown himself the irreconcilable enemy of the reformed religion and its followers, he

was greatly beloved by the Catholics, who considered him as the bulwark of their faith, and his fall deeply lamented by them. But it is not the manner only of this nobleman's death that is to be regretted: admiral Coligny, with Theodore Besa, was unhappily accused of being the secret instigator of the deed, and this accusation, whether true or false, gave birth to that deadly hatred between the houses of Guise and Chatillon, which, there is but too much reason to believe, contributed in no small degree to produce the horrible scenes that took place on the dreadful night of St. Bartholomew.

With the death of the duke of Guise the war may be said to have terminated; for, though many places had been recovered from the Huguenots, and a complete victory gained over their army, yet the nation began to grow tired of the struggle, and became divided in its opinions as to the utility of pursuing it any longer. In this state of things the queen-mother caused a parliament to be held in the neighbourhood of Orleans, at which the prince of Condé and the constable were present, and after some discussion, a suspension of arms was agreed upon; which was followed by a treaty of peace, concluded on the 9th of March, by which, among other stipulations, the Protestants were allowed the free exercise of their religion in every town throughout the kingdom, except Paris.

The civil commotions being thus allayed, the queen-mother, after expelling the English, who were still in Havre, determined upon restoring complete order throughout the provinces, and reforming the irregularities that had crept into the government; and the better to effect these designs, as well as to destroy all farther claims of the prince of Condé to the administration of affairs, and, at the same time, to secure

the whole to herself, she resolved to cause the young king to be declared of age, at thirteen and a-half, which was accordingly done with all due solemnity in the parliament at Rouen, notwithstanding a violent opposition made to it by that of Paris, which denied the right of any minor taking the government into his own hands before the full term of fourteen years. The queen's next efforts were directed towards detaching the prince from the Huguenots, and winning over entirely to her side the admiral and his brother d'Andelot, (who still continued to betray suspicions,) being fully convinced by the late events, that their power could no otherwise be weakened or destroyed than by depriving them of their principal leaders and protectors: but though she was in some degree successful at first, with the prince, she could make no impression upon the admiral and his brother, who resisted all her fair offers, and retired from the court full of distrust of her intentions.

Every thing, indeed, seems alike to have conspired against the queen's attempt to restore perfect tranquillity. The three sons of the duke of Guise,* urged on by their uncles the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Aumale, continued to charge the house of Chatillon with the murder of their father, and even came to Paris with a numerous train of their relations and dependants, publicly to demand justice of the king upon the authors of that assassination. This proceeding, together with their avowed intention of standing forth as the defenders of the Catholic religion, alarmed the admiral and his brothers, and compelled them, for their

* Henry, the eldest, now duke of Guise; Lewis, afterwards a cardinal, and Charles duke of Maïenne, the chief of the league against Henry the fourth.

own safety and protection, to unite more firmly than ever with the Huguenots. The decrees of the council of Trent were another source of embarrassment; that council having broken up in November of this year, the cardinal of Lorraine, who had assisted at it, repaired immediately to Rome, where he prevailed on the pope, already greatly displeased at the late peace with the Huguenots, to require of the king of France that these decrees should be published and observed throughout his dominions. The king and his mother, who well knew that they could not receive them without abolishing the late edict of pacification with the Huguenots, and again renewing all the severe laws that had formerly existed against them, which would not fail to rekindle a civil war in the kingdom, were greatly perplexed by this request from the pope, whom they were unwilling to offend, yet could not obey without exposing themselves and the country to the greatest danger and misery; they therefore had recourse to dissimulation and artifice, and by ambiguous expressions, and a promise of sending fit persons to the different Catholic courts to signify their real intentions, they evaded acceding to his holiness's demands, without exciting that displeasure which an absolute refusal would have drawn upon them.

With the above mentioned events the year 1563 terminated, and on the commencement of the following, the king and queen-mother resolved upon taking a journey through the principal provinces of the kingdom: the avowed object of which was the gratification and pleasure of the young king. It was, however, intended for far different, and more important purposes, amongst which, measures for the future extermination of the reformed religion was one of the principal: these were

to be concerted either with the princes who might border upon their route, or the ambassadors they were to meet from those who lay at a greater distance. The state of affairs in the kingdom of Navarre was also another cause for this journey: for Jane, queen of Navarre, who was a true Huguenot, immediately on the death of Antony her husband, had forbid throughout her dominions the exercise of any other than the reformed religion, and deprived the Roman Catholic clergy of their livings. This drew upon her the displeasure of the pope, who threatened her with excommunication if she did not desist from these violent proceedings, and allow the Catholics to exercise their religion in her dominions as formerly. The king of France had, however, for certain political reasons, interfered, and by espousing the queen's cause, in some degree allayed the animosity of the pope: but as the dispute was likely to be again renewed, it was deemed expedient to visit the queen, and to endeavour to prevail on her to accede to his holiness's demands; and, if they could not succeed in this, at least to take from her the young prince, Henry of Navarre, that he might not be educated in the principles of the reformed religion.

With these various intentions the king, and queen-mother set out from Paris, and after visiting many different places towards the frontiers of Germany, where they had interviews with several princes of the empire, some of whom they secured in their interest, while others remained firmly attached to the cause of the Huguenots, they next went to Lyons, Valence, Rousillon, and Avignon: and in the opening of the year 1565, reached the province of Languedoc, from whence, after celebrating the carnival, they went to Bayonne,

where they were met by Elizabeth, queen of Spain, and the duke of Alva: here, while they affected to be entirely occupied with feasts and tournaments, secret consultations were held on the most certain methods of extirpating the Huguenots: the strict union of the kings of France and Spain were allowed on both sides to be indispensably requisite for the attainment of this object: but on the most advisable manner in which it was to be effected, there existed a difference of opinion. The duke of Alva, with that vehement and violent spirit which afterwards marked his conduct in the Low Countries, advised the queen to seize and strike off the heads of all the chiefs of the Huguenots, as the only possible and effectual means of putting a stop as well to the further dissemination of their doctrines, as to prevent any future resistance to the royal will.—But Catherine, while she admitted that the plan thus proposed to her by the duke would probably be attended with success, did not conceive the present a fit time to attempt it: she was desirous of first trying less violent means, and if these should fail, she gave the duke to understand, that his advice might then, probably, be followed. They however came to a resolution that the two kings should mutually assist each other in rooting out the growing *heresy*, (a resolution which may be considered as the first step towards *the league*,) and after settling other matters of less importance, the queen of Spain and the duke returned to Madrid, while Charles and Catherine pursued their route to the court of Navarre: here they used all their endeavours to persuade queen Jane to embrace the Catholic religion, but without success: though she consented to tolerate the Catholics in her kingdom, and to restore to them the lands of which they had been deprived. She was also prevailed upon

to accompany the king and queen to the court, and to take with her the young prince her son, and his sister Catherine, to whom they showed much love and affection: after which they all set out towards Paris.

The devastation and wretchedness, which were every where visible during the late journey convinced the queen-mother that it required the most prompt and vigorous efforts of the government to restore order and prosperity in the kingdom: she therefore, soon after her return, gave notice for a convention of all the parliaments of the kingdom at Moulins, in the ensuing year; and that the administration of affairs might be no longer interrupted or distracted by factions, or contentions between the chief families of the nation, she resolved to effect a reconciliation between the houses of Guise and Chatillon in the presence of that assembly. She hoped by thus making known her intentions, entirely to gain the prince and the admiral, and to induce them to reside with the court: but in this she was completely disappointed: some circumstances which had occurred during the late journey, and particularly the interview at Bayonne, had excited strong suspicions in the Huguenots, of the sincerity of the queen's fair professions, and tended to unite more closely than ever the prince and the admiral with the rest of their party. In this year also a rupture took place in the constable's family, which served still more to increase the disorders in the state; his eldest son, marshal Montmorency, openly united with the prince and admiral, while the younger, the lord of Danville, espoused the party of the Guises. In the midst of these dissensions, the cardinal of Lorraine happened to return from Rome, and coming to Paris, with an armed train of attendants, marshal Montmorency, (who

was governor of that city,) dispatched a messenger to him while he was yet at some distance, to forbid him entering the capital with his armed followers, lest any disturbance might ensue, and to acquaint him, that his coming thus attended was in direct violation of the laws against the bearing of fire-arms: the cardinal, however, not choosing to obey this order, the marshal immediately set out to meet him, and forcibly disarmed both himself and his followers as he entered one of the suburbs. This proceeding of the marshal, while it occasioned much animosity between the two families, gave great offence to the king, and the queen-mother, but as they flattered themselves that they would be able to reconcile all these opposite parties and interests in the approaching assembly at Moulins, they took little notice of the affair.

In the beginning of 1566, Charles and Catherine repaired to the assembly at Moulins, where, after various measures had been adopted, and new laws enacted, for the better government, and the relief of the different provinces, Catherine proceeded to attain the great object of her wishes—the reconciliation of the two houses of Chatillon and Guise: and after many objections, and much repugnance on both sides, the admiral and his brother, the constable, and his son the marshal, and the cardinal of Lorraine and his nephew the young duke of Guise, were all prevailed upon to meet and embrace each other in the presence of the king; but this was done in a way which afforded those who witnessed it very little cause to believe that the hatred they had respectively borne each other was destroyed, or that their professions of mutual esteem and friendship were either sincere, or likely to be of long duration. Indeed a few days only had passed

over before this conjecture was verified, for when the duke of Aumale arrived, he not only absolutely refused either to see or speak with the admiral, or any of his family, but also accused him with having plotted against his life: d'Andelot, in his turn, accused Aumale of having done the same with regard to him; and thus by mutual recrimination, and accusations of designs hostile to the state, both families became, if possible, more bitter enemies than they had been previous to their affected reconciliation.

The king, and Catherine, having no longer any hope of putting an end to these domestic feuds, which, instead of diminishing, appeared rather to increase, in proportion as they laboured for that purpose, now resolved that both parties should immediately quit the court, and retire to their respective estates, which they all did, except the cardinal of Lorraine, and marshal Montmorency. The queen of Navarre also, disgusted at the conduct of the king with regard to her niece, Frances de Rohan, left the court soon after, and returned to Bearn.

The provinces, this year, were not less harrassed than the court by the contending interests of the two religions: the Catholics were every where indignant at the liberty enjoyed by the Huguenots, and made repeated efforts to deprive them of some of the privileges which they had obtained by the treaty of peace; while the Huguenots, on the other hand, not content with those privileges, made frequent attempts to obtain others which that treaty had not conceded to them; all which often produced much violence and outrage, and filled the court with daily complaints from both parties. Affairs remained for some time in this state, with little variation; the prince, the admiral, and other principal

Huguenots continued to watch all the motions of the queen-mother, and to strengthen their interests with the Protestant princes of Germany,* whom they prevailed upon to send an embassy to Charles the ninth, to intreat him to allow the reformed the full liberty of exercising, both publicly and privately, their religion in every part of his kindgom, without any exception or restriction whatever. This embassy, and the bold language of the admiral, who, with the prince, was frequently going to and from the court, excited the resentment of the young king against the Huguenots in a high degree; and it is said that one day after some discourse with Coligny respecting them, he retired in a violent passion into his mother's apartment, and observed to her, that the opinion of the duke of Alva was just—that dissimulation was of no effect, and they must have recourse to rigorous measures to lower these turbulent chiefs; an expression, which is the more deserving of notice here, when it is recollected that this so highly extolled opinion of the Spaniard was at last adopted in the execrable massacre of St. Bartholomew.

From this period every thing portended another civil war: the counties of Foix, Languedoc, and Dauphiny, were exposed to daily conflicts between the two religions; which the legislature was unable to suppress: each party accused the other, and where they could not obtain from the magistrates a redress of their alleged wrongs, they proceeded to take the law into their own hands, and to revenge themselves as they thought proper.—The king was now firmly resolved

* These were the Palatine of the Rhine, the dukes of Wirtemberg and Deux-Ponts, one of the dukes of Saxony, and the duke of Pomerania. *Davila.*

to bend all his efforts towards the destruction of the Huguenots, and the better to disguise his intentions, affected to entertain suspicions of the court of Spain, and the designs of the duke of Alva, who was to carry a large force with him into the Low Countries, and as he was to pass along the frontiers of France, judged it a good pretext for levying a body of Swiss, raising forces within his kingdom, and making other warlike preparations, as if to watch the duke's motions. But the chiefs of the Hueguenots were not to be deceived by these and other shallow artifices of the king and queen-mother: they had recourse to the most certain and speedy method of penetrating into the real designs of this armament: they affected to be equally alarmed at the Spaniards, whom they represented as a people who had made their chief conquests under the mask of friendship: the admiral advised the king to deny the duke of Alva a passage through his dominions, and offered, together with the prince of Condé, to drive him back should he attempt to force one. These offers not being accepted, and no forces being sent towards the frontiers, notwithstanding the duke's advance, the principal Huguenots were convinced that the troops raising both abroad and at home, instead of being destined for carrying on a war with Spain, were designed to act against themselves, and they accordingly took all precautions during the remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next, against any sudden surprise.

In the summer of 1567, the six thousand Swiss, levied for the king's service, entered France, about which time, the Huguenots, in one of their assemblies held at St. Valery, received secret information from some of their friends respecting the designs of the court, and advising them to be upon their guard, as the

arrest of the prince and admiral, and other severe measures against them, were resolved upon.

The assembly were divided in their opinions respecting this information; some disbelieved it, while others, though they considered it as intitled to some credit, were entirely averse to hazarding a renewal of hostilities with the few forces they were able to bring at first into the field; it was therefore resolved to act with caution, and wait a little longer in the hope of discovering with certainty the truth or falsehood of what had been reported to them. With this the assembly separated; but the Swiss having marched into the isle of France, after it had been declared that they were intended only to guard the frontiers, and certain transactions taking place in the court which induced the Huguenots to believe the council of Trent was about to be received in France, another meeting of the chiefs was held at Chatillon, in which it was finally resolved, to prepare for war without delay: the way in which this should be done occasioned much debate; some were for resorting at once to their former expedient of seizing as many towns as they could; others thought they ought to make themselves masters of only two or three of the principal ones, nearest at hand, which would present rallying points for all their adherents, and soon enable them to bring together a force sufficiently formidable to take the field with every prospect of beating the royal army, without which nothing favourable could be expected. Admiral Coligny, however, had conceived the bold project of commencing the war with seizing the persons of the king and queen-mother, (who, not suspecting any movements amongst the reformed, were at this time residing at Monceaux,) and on communicating it to the assembly

it was unanimously adopted. As the success of this enterprise depended entirely upon the suddenness with which it should be made, it was agreed that the chiefs should meet at Rosé, near Monceaux on the 27th of September, with as strong a body of cavalry as could be drawn together. But a very short time previous to the appointed day the queen-mother received intelligence of the plot, and fled immediately with the king in the utmost confusion and alarm to Meaux, (the nearest place, of any strength, to Monceaux,) whither she called around her the Swiss who were dispersed in cantonments in the adjacent country; but being apprehensive that the enemy, who were now within a short distance of Meaux, would storm the place, the whole court departed by day-break, under protection of the Swiss, and though they were greatly harrassed by the Huguenot cavalry under the command of the prince and admiral, they all reached Paris in safety, except the cardinal of Lorraine, who having taken the road to Rheims, fell in with a party of the enemy, and only escaped by quitting his carriage and flying on foot through by-paths.

Though they had thus failed in their grand object, the prince and admiral, relying for future success on the celerity of their motions, as soon as all their forces were united, pushed on without delay towards Paris, which they determined to besiege, and for that purpose seized upon all the passages of the river, by which provisions were brought into the capital, and occupied Montreuil, Lagny, St. Denis, the bridge of St. Cloud, Danmartin, and all the other neighbouring places; and in the beginning of October, advanced close to the very walls of Paris, where they burnt down the

windmills between the gates St. Honoré and the Temple. This blockade threw the court into the greatest consternation; which was farther increased by the total want of money in the royal treasury, and the certainty that if means were not immediately found out to obtain provisions, the city must inevitably yield to the besiegers through want. Messengers were therefore instantly despatched to the commanders in the provinces to advance without delay with what forces they could draw together, while, through the assistance of several of the foreign ambassadors resident in Paris, and the contributions of the merchants, a sum of money was raised to pay the troops and provide for the further defence of the city. Nor were the besiegers less active in increasing their forces, by means of their partizans in Normandy, Picardy, and Champagne, who daily sent off bodies of troops towards Paris. The royal army, however, was the first which received succours, and the city being reduced to the greatest extremities, it was resolved to attempt its relief; the constable marched out at the head of the army, and took up a position on the high road between Paris and St. Denis, where the Huguenots were encamped. This obliged the latter to concentrate their forces, (which were greatly inferior to the king's) by which means the road to the capital was thrown open, and finding it impossible to retreat without being exposed to a total route, the prince and admiral determined to risk a battle. The prince was posted in front of St. Denis: the admiral in the village of St. Ouen, on the right, and Genlis and Muy on the left, where the country being open, deep trenches had been cut, and works thrown up, which were occupied by 600 arquebusiers. The con-

stable, at the head of the royal army, drew up the centre in front of the prince, the duke of Aumale and marshal Danville were opposed to the admiral, while the duke of Nemours, with a large body of the cavalry, advanced with the rear-guard, followed by the Swiss, and the infantry of Brissac and Strozzy. About noon, on the eve of St. Martin, the constable began the attack with great fury on the centre of the prince, but he was every where repulsed, his ranks broken through and dispersed, and himself mortally wounded in the shoulder, by a Scotchman named Stuart; but fortune was not equally favourable every where to the Huguenots: the admiral, after a severe struggle, was routed, and the trenches on the left being carried by the duke of Nemours, who made a dreadful slaughter of those within them, the prince was compelled, under favour of the night, to draw off the remains of his army to St. Dennis, leaving the dead and wounded in the hands of the royalists. Here he was joined by d'Andelot, who had been unable to take a share in the battle, and the next morning, to the great surprise of his enemies again presented himself in order of battle, and so far intimidated them, that he was enabled to carry off a part of those who had fallen the preceding day, or were left wounded on the field.

After the death of the constable, who expired the day after he was wounded, in the 78th year of his age, the duke of Anjou, the king's brother (afterwards Henry III,) was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and took the command of the army, having under him as advisers, the duke of Nemours and marshal Cossé. The Huguenots having broken up from St. Denis, and directed their march towards Montereau

and Sens, the better to form a junction with prince Casimir, the son of the elector Palatine, who was advancing to their assistance with 8,000 German auxiliaries, the duke of Anjou immediately marched in pursuit of them, with the hope of bringing them to an action before that junction could be effected; and though an opportunity for doing this presented itself near Chalons in Champagne, he neglected to take advantage of it, and the prince, after a most harrassing march, in which his troops endured the greatest hardships, at length reached Senne in Lorraine, where he waited for Casimir, while the duke of Anjou took up his quarters at Vitry.

On the 11th of January, 1568, the prince of Condé effected a junction with the German auxiliaries, and after a few days allowed them to refresh themselves, he resolved to retrace his steps through Champagne into Beauce, as well to be in a more abundant country, and to have it in his power to threaten Paris, and succour Orleans, now closely besieged, as to afford greater facility to his union with the different levies which were marching to join him from the southern provinces: for at this time the Huguenots were in revolt throughout the whole kingdom, and had made themselves masters of Rochelle and many other important places. This movement of the prince induced the king to recall the duke of Anjou with his army to the capital, the court being resolved to protract the war, as much as possible, in the hope of exhausting, by this means, the resources of their enemies, and depriving them of the German troops, which, it was well known, would remain in their service no longer than they continued to receive regularly their stipulated pay: the

prince, however, used his utmost endeavours to oblige the royal army to keep the field, and thereby afford him an opportunity of gaining some signal advantage over it. and for this purpose he laid siege to Chartres, a large and populous city, from the vicinity of which Paris derived no small portion of its provisions. This disconcerted entirely the plan of the king, and queen-mother: there was no hope whatever of Chartres resisting for any time: to risk a general battle was replete with danger, and yet to suffer it to be taken in the very face of the royal army, without an effort to relieve it, would bring disgrace upon both that army and its commander, and add fresh vigour to the adverse party. In this perplexing situation deputies were despatched to the prince and admiral with overtures for a peace, which, after various delays, was at length concluded at Longjumeau, highly to the advantage of the Huguenots, who obtained every thing they demanded: they were, however, obliged to promise to disband their forces, deliver up all the towns in their possession, and never after enter into associations, or levy money. This peace was proclaimed at Paris in March of this year.

It might have been supposed that the little advantage which had attended the royal arms during the two last wars with the Huguenots, added to the distresses these wars had every where occasioned, would have at length convinced the king and Catherine of the folly and impolicy of contending with them any more, and that as a peace was again concluded, nothing would have been omitted to render that peace lasting. But six months had scarcely elapsed before another war broke out, far more furious than either

of those which had preceded it. The very favourable terms of the peace itself, were to a great many of the Huguenots a cause of suspicion that the court had granted them only for the purpose of obtaining possession of the towns held by them, and to gain time till it could assemble an army sufficiently powerful to overwhelm them; and on this account several of these towns, and particularly Rochelle, refused to receive the royal garrison sent to occupy them. These proceedings were for a time disavowed by the prince of Condé; but some movements of troops in Burgundy and other parts, and the discovery of a design to seize the prince and the admiral, convinced the former that the court was again preparing to attempt the destruction of himself and his adherents. He therefore retired to Rochelle, whither he was soon followed by admiral Coligny; and in September the queen of Navarre also, and her son, prince Henry, with about three thousand infantry and four hundred horse, repaired thither. D'Andelot, Montgomery, and others were busied in Brittany, Anjou, and Maine, where they raised about two thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, for the purpose of uniting with the prince's army.

Charles and Catherine now repealed all the edicts in favour of the Huguenots, and issued others prohibiting the exercise of any other religion whatever than the Catholic; ordered all the reformed clergy to quit the kingdom, and displaced all those Huguenots who held any employment in the state. They used, at the same time, their utmost exertions to collect their forces together, at the head of which the duke of Anjou again set out from Paris towards the prince and admiral, who were in the neighbourhood of Aubeterre:

the advanced guards of both armies first fell in with each other nigh Poitiers, where a sharp encounter took place, which terminated in favour of the latter, who the next day marched to attack the duke, but finding him very advantageously posted, they declined engaging him; the winter setting in, the duke, after an unsuccessful attempt to take Loudan, put his army into quarters in the Limosin, while the prince and admiral marched to Niort, where they met the queen of Navarre, and settled the future plans of the campaign. At this time the queen of England sent them some succours of money, artillery and ammunition to Rochelle, through the persuasions of cardinal Chatillon, who had gone over to England at the breaking out of the war.

During this inactivity of the two armies, the court made an attempt to bring about a peace; but, notwithstanding the fairest professions on both sides, nothing was determined upon, and hostilities were recommenced in the beginning of 1569, with increased vigour, and continued with various success till the middle of March, when both armies meeting at Jarnac, a desperate engagement took place, in which the Huguenots, after a most noble resistance, were entirely routed with immense loss, and the prince of Condé slain.* The admiral and his brother d'Andelot retreat-

* The prince had a hurt in his arm, which obliged him to wear it in a sling, and before the battle his leg was fractured by a kick of a horse; yet, in this state, he rushed into the thickest of the fight, and bore down every thing before him till his horse was shot, when he yielded his sword to an officer named Argis, who removed him to a little distance from the field of battle, where, as he was sitting faint with the loss of blood from his wounds, he was basely shot dead by the baron de Montesquiou, the captain of the duke of Anjou's guards. He was only 39 years of age.

ed with a few followers to St. Jean d'Angely, from whence they went to join the prince of Navarre and the young prince of Condé, at Xaintes, whither a few of the cavalry likewise fled, while the remains of the infantry escaped to Cognac.

As soon as Charles was informed of the victory of Jarnac, he despatched messengers into Germany to hasten the advance of the auxiliaries which had been promised him by some of the Catholic princes; and others to the duke of Alva for the same purpose; that the duke of Anjou might by these reinforcements be able to follow up his successes, and prevent at the same time the advance of the duke of Deux-Ponts, who, with prince Louis of Nassau, was marching to join the Huguenots with a considerable force: but though the royal army in Burgundy, under the dukes of Nemours and Aumale, was joined by these auxiliaries, it was unable to stop the progress of the duke, who having got into the country of Auxerre, and wishing to secure a pass upon the Loire, laid siege to La Charité in the beginning of May, and took it by storm. As soon as this intelligence reached the princes of Navarre and Condé, who were now chosen the chiefs of the Huguenots, under the guidance of the admiral, they immediately set out towards him with the few forces they had together, and in their route made themselves masters of Nantron, from whence the admiral despatched Montgomery into Gascony to make head against the commander in that province, who was overrunning the territories of the queen of Navarre. From Nantron, the princes continued their march and reached Chalus in the beginning of June, where, to their great grief, they learned,

two days after, the death of the duke of Deux-Ponts, who expired at Escars, after a long indisposition: he was succeeded in the command of his army, by count Mansfeldt, who joined it a few days after.

These successes of the confederate princes are to be attributed entirely to the dissensions and discontents which prevailed at this time in the royal army. The dukes of Nemours and Aumale, by their differences, suffered the duke of Deux-Ponts to advance when they had it in their power to route his army; and though the duke of Anjou had, after the battle of Jarnac, reduced several places to his obedience, yet his army had become extremely mutinous from the great arrears of pay due to them, and both officers and common soldiers were daily deserting in great numbers.

On the 23d of June, the Huguenot and German forces joined each other at St. Yrier, from whence the two young princes sent a petition to the king in the name of the whole body, setting forth their grievances, and praying for liberty of conscience, and a general pardon for all that had taken place; but the king would not listen to this petition unless they would first lay down their arms, which they refusing to do, each side prepared for a farther prosecution of the war. The duke of Anjou's army being considerably reinforced, as well by native troops, as by a body of horse and foot sent by the pope, he determined, contrary to the advice of the court, to bring the enemy to a general engagement, to prevent them from penetrating into Poitou: in this, however, he was in some degree anticipated by the admiral and princes, who attacked and routed his vanguard at Roche-la-belle, with considerable loss;

this check obliged the duke to put his troops into garrison in Guienne to recruit, they being reduced to the greatest distress for want of provision, and forage for the cavalry, after which he went himself to Tours, where the king and his mother were residing.—The princes, as soon as they saw the royal army dispersed, reduced many towns, and in the end of June entered Poitou, and laid siege to Poitiers, which they carried on for a considerable time, and would probably have taken it, had not the duke of Anjou, who had again taken the field, invested Chatellerault, which obliged them to raise the siege, in order to relieve that important place. As soon as Anjou learnt this, he withdrew his army from Chatellerault to la Celle, whither he was closely pursued by the admiral, and only escaped by the promptitude of Biron and Tavannes. After staying a few days at la Celle, he marched to Chinon, where he remained a considerable time, to refresh his men, and give time for the arrival of fresh supplies, and then set out in search of the enemy, who, he learnt had marched towards Moncontour, which they seized before he could come up with them. After encamping for a short time at la Cler, where a smart skirmish took place, the duke passed the river Yves, determined to give the Huguenots battle, who were drawn up in a large plain in the neighbourhood of Moncontour: their van was led by the admiral, supported by count Mansfeldt, and the main body by count Louis of Nassau, accompanied by his brother the prince of Orange, and several others of his countrymen. The action, which was begun about three o'clock, soon became general, and was for a long time entirely favourable to the Huguenots: but the admiral being

wounded in the cheek, and the German troops at last giving way, the whole army was completely routed, with the loss of nearly eight thousand men, among whom were several leaders, all their artillery, and the baggage of the Germans:—the royal army, though its loss was not so great as that of the other, suffered nevertheless very severely in officers, the elder count Rhingrave, the marquis of Baden, and several others of distinction being slain; and the duke of Guise, counts Schomberg, Bassompierre, and Santelles wounded.—It was in this battle that the prince of Navarre gave the first proofs of that great military genius, for which he was afterwards so celebrated; he and the prince of Condé being placed on an eminence at a short distance from the field of action, it was with difficulty he could be restrained from rushing into the midst of it, particularly when he saw the duke of Anjou's van broken through by the admiral;—at that instant he exclaimed, "we are losing our advantage, and for this reason we will lose the battle!" a prediction, which, unhappily for him and his followers, was but too soon verified.

The defeat of Moncontour would, in all probability, have decided the fate of the Huguenots, had the duke of Anjou known how to take advantage of it; but, instead of vigorously pursuing the admiral and princes, he laid siege to St. Jean d'Angely, and thereby afforded them an opportunity of retiring with the remains of their forces into Gascony, where they formed a junction with the count of Montgomery, who, as has been already observed, was dispatched from Nantron, to protect the queen of Navarre's dominions from the ravages which the king's troops were committing in

them a commission which he had ably executed, and was now at the head of about, two thousand infantry and eight hundred horse, in the neighbourhood of Condom. With this reinforcement they were enabled to maintain themselves in that part of the country and in Languadoc, till the spring of 1570, when they descended to the borders of the Rhone with about 6000 infantry, and nearly 3000 horse, and passing that river, in the face of an enemy, whom they routed, they reached, after a toilsome march, the country of Bourbonnois, where they halted some time, in order to refresh and reinforce their army. From thence they advanced into Burgundy, as far as Arnai-le-Duc, where they were met by the royal army, under the command of the marshal Cossé, the duke of Anjou, after the reduction of St. Jean d'Angely, and an unsuccessful attempt upon Rochelle, having quitted it through indisposition. Here a partial engagement took place, greatly to the advantage of the Huguenots, who for the first time were led on by the prince of Navarre, the admiral being unable to act on account of sickness.

This advantage, and the near approach of the princes to the capital, after the Catholics had been taught to believe that the Huguenots were almost annihilated, filled the court with the greatest alarm, and induced the king, and queen-mother again to attempt to procure a peace; for this purpose they sent, about the end of May, two commissioners, Biron and Malassise, to the princes and admiral, with propositions, and, though they were at first rejected, a peace was at last concluded in the middle of August, by which it was stipulated that the Huguenots should enjoy full liberty of conscience, the public profession of their religion, with all

the other privileges conceded in former treaties; and that they should retain possession of Rochelle, Cognac, la Charité, and Montauban; all which places, however, they promised to deliver up to the king in two years, provided the articles of the peace were faithfully observed by him. How far this was done, by Charles and his mother, the way in which hostilities again commenced, and the misery and devastation to which France was afterwards so long a prey, are amply detailed in the early part of the Memoirs of the duke of Sully.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK I.

1570 to 1580.

I. State of affairs in the council of France; state of the Calvinists, at the peace of 1570.—II. Rosny's extraction, and anecdotes of the house of Bethune. Some account of the birth, education, and early years of the prince of Navarre.—III. Idea of the government under Henry II, Francis II, and during the first years of the reign of Charles IX.—IV. Artifices of queen Catherine of Medicis to ruin the Huguenots. Rosny engages himself in the service of the king of Navarre, and follows him to Paris. Death of the queen of Navarre; the wounding of admiral Coligny, and other causes of suspicion, which the court gave to the Protestants; profound dissimulation of Charles IX.—V. Massacre of St. Bartholomew; observations and reflections upon it, on the conduct of Charles IX, and of admiral Coligny; in what manner the king of Navarre and Rosny escaped being massacred; education of Rosny.—VI. The Calvinists resume courage, and retrieve their affairs; flight of the prince of Condé; imprisonment of the princes. The insurrection of Shrove Tuesday. Death of Charles IX; his character; Henry III returns to France, and declares war against the Huguenots; flight of Monsieur and the king of Navarre; the queen-mother deceives them by the peace called *the peace of Monsieur*.—VII. The war renewed; military rencounters, and taking of cities. Rosny's first exploits in arms. The peace of 1577. Conferences between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. Further military expeditions; taking of Cahors, &c. Imprudence of Rosny.

I. THEY flattered themselves at the court of Charles the ninth, that the disasters which befel the Protestants during the preceding reigns, would at last oblige them either to submit to the king's will, or to leave the

kingdom: the loss of two great battles,* in one of which the prince of Condé,† their leader, fell; the utter dispersion of their troops, and the little probability of their being able to reanimate the feeble remains of their army, discouraged by a long series of misfortunes, all contributed to persuade the court, that the moment of their ruin approached: but a courage superior to all reverses supported them in circumstances so distressful: they recalled their soldiers, who were scattered throughout the provinces, and now began to draw together from Burgundy, Bourbon, and Berry. La Charité was named for the place of their general rendezvous: Vezelai, and some other towns, still holding out for them in that neighbourhood. They had even the boldness to talk of approaching the Seine, and Paris, as soon as they should be reinforced by some considerable supplies of horse and foot from Germany, which had been raised there for the assistance of the Huguenots. This news gave great uneasiness to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis; but she flattered herself, that it would not be difficult to prevent their junction, and afterwards to disperse the troops, which she supposed would be by that means thrown into a consternation. For this purpose she ordered a powerful army to march, in which Strozzy,‡ La Chatre,

* Jarnac and Moncontour.

† Lewis the first, prince of Condé, brother of Anthony king of Navarre, and son of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome; he was wounded and taken prisoner in the battle of Jarnac, in the year 1569, and assassinated immediately after by the baron de Montesquiou, who shot him in the back part of the head with a pistol. Montesquiou being captain of the guards to the duke of Anjou, that prince was accused of having ordered him to assassinate the prince of Condé.

‡ Philip Strozzy, lord of Epernay, son of Peter Strozzy, marshal of France. Claude de la Chatre, afterwards marshal of France. John de

Tavannes, La Valette, and all the general officers in France, were desirous of serving: and the marshal de Cossé* who was to have the supreme command, suffered himself to be intoxicated with the glory he should acquire, by extirpating even the last Huguenot soldier, and bringing the chiefs of the party bound hand and foot to the queen-mother: but he was soon undeceived: the Protestant army received him with great intrepidity; they were always the first to offer battle: in the skirmishes, which were frequent, the advantage was wholly on their side: and they even obtained a kind of victory at the encounter of Arnai-le-duc.† So much obstinacy

Nogaret de la Valette, father of the duke d'Epernon. Gaspard de Salux de Tavannes, who was also marshal of France; he had been page to Francis I. and was at that time one of the counsellors and confidents of Catherine de Medicis. His character may be known by the following traits, which I shall copy from the author of the Henriade in his notes, p. 34. In the "night of St. Bartholomew," says he, "he ran through the streets of Paris, "crying, 'Let blood, let blood; bleeding is as good in the month of Au-"gust as in May.' His son, who has written his memoirs, relates, that his "father being upon his death-bed, made a general confession of the sins of "his life; after which his confessor saying to him with an air of astonish-"ment, 'Why! you speak not a word of St. Bartholomew,' I look upon "that,' replied the marshal, 'as a meritorious action, which ought to atone "for all the sins I have ever committed.'"

* Artus de Cossé, lord of Gonnor, who died in 1582.

† It was expected from appearances, that the marshal de Cossé would beat the Huguenot army, or at least prevent it from approaching Paris; but he did neither; on the contrary, he was obliged to retreat after a very smart encounter, and from thence forward contented himself with watching the motions of the enemy. In this engagement the Calvinists were commanded by the prince of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, his cousin-german, the one sixteen, the other seventeen years of age, and by the admiral de Coligny. Peter Matthieu, the historian, relates these words of Henry IV, after he had ascended the throne; speaking of this encounter of Arnai-le-duc: "My first exploits in arms," said this prince, "were at "René-le-duc, where the question was, whether I should fight or retire. "I had no retreat nearer than forty miles from thence, and if I staid, I "must necessarily lie at the mercy of the country people. By fighting, I

convinced the queen-mother, that to ruin the Protestant party it would be necessary to have recourse to other measures than open hostilities. Treachery seemed to her the securest: and, in order to gain time to prepare for it, she listened so favourably to proposals for an accommodation, that a peace was concluded when it was least expected, and upon conditions very advantageous for the Huguenots. This was the peace of 1570.* After which, during the space of two years, each party tasted the sweets of repose that had been equally desired by both.

II. My father † retired to his house at Rosney, and employed himself in settling his domestic affairs. As it is the history of my own life, jointly with that of the prince whom I served, that will make the subject of these memoirs, it is necessary that I should give some account of my family and person. By satisfying the curiosity of the public in these particulars, I must entreat, that neither vanity nor affectation be imputed to

" ran the risk of being taken or slain, for I had no cannon, and the king's " forces had; and a gentleman was killed not ten paces distant from me " with a cannon shot: but recommending the success of this day to God, it " pleased him to make it favourable and happy." Vol. i. book V. p. 327. In this same year the Huguenots gained the battle of Lucon, and took Marennes, the isle of Oleron, Brouage, Xaintes, &c.

* By this treaty of peace, many privileges, of which they had been deprived, were restored to them; the number of their churches was augmented, and four cities were given them for security, La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La-Charité This peace was signed the 11th of August, and was called the lame and ill-founded peace, because it was concluded in the name of the king by Biron, who was lame, and by N. de Mesmes, lord of Malassize, which in French signifies ill-founded

† Francis de Bethune, baron de Rosny, who died in the year 1575. His first wife was Charlotte Dauvet, daughter of Robert Dauvet, lord de Rieux, president of the chamber of accounts, and of Anne Briconnet; by her he had three children, whose names will be mentioned hereafter. His second wife was Margaret de Louvigny, who brought him no issue.

me, since a strict regard to truth is my only inducement for relating whatever may appear to my advantage, either here, or in the succeeding parts of these memoirs.

Maximilian is my baptismal name, and Bethune that of my family,* which derives its origin, by the house of Coucy, from the ancient house of Austria: we must not, however, confound it with that which is at present in possession of the empire of Germany, and the two Spains. This last is descended only from the counts of Habsbourg and Quibourg,† private gentle-

* These particulars relating to the house of Bethune, are drawn from the body of the ancient memoirs of Sully, and the pieces joined to them; but it will be safest to rely on the best modern genealogists, whose opinions we shall mention hereafter.

† It was long believed, that the house of Austria was descended from the counts of Habsbourg, or Thiérstein. The writings in the abbey de Mure, or Muri, in Switzerland, carlessly consulted by Theodore Godefroy, and upon his word adopted by the best critics, and even by father Le Long, have given rise to this error; but by these writings better examined, by the charters of the monastery of St. Trutpert, and other acts, it appears that this house is originally from Brisgaw, that it is descended from the ancient counts of Alsace, and goes back, by Luitfrid, Rampert, Otpert, &c. counts of Habsbourg, and landgraves of Alsace, not only to Gontran the rich, count of Altembourg, who lived in the beginning of the tenth century, but even to Adelric, or Ethic the first, called duke of Germany, eighteenth ancestor of Raoul or Rodolph the first, to the middle of the seventh century. This seems to be sufficiently well established by the new work in Latin of father Merquard Hergott, a benedictin, printed at Vienna, 1737, in three volumes, folio, entitled, The diplomatic Genealogy of the august House of Habsbourg, &c. See also the learned and judicious extract from this work, inserted in the Journal des Savans, March, April, and June, 1740. Besides this general error, our Memoirs seem to have fallen into two particular ones. It is certain, we ought not to confound this second house of Austria, with that which had possession of Austria, &c. till the year 1248, when Frederick, the last of it, died, and which drew its origin from the ancient dukes of Suabia; but we want proofs of the house of Bethune's being allied to that of Suabia, or the first house of Austria, though it was to the second, by the house of Coucy. The duke of Sully probably gave

men, who three hundred years since were in the pay of the cities of Strasbourg, Basil, and Zurich, and who would have thought themselves highly honoured by being stewards of the household to such a prince as the king of France; since Raoul, chief of this second house of Austria, held a like employment under Ottocar, king of Bohemia. It is from the son of this Raoul that the new stock of Austria properly begins, for he took the name of Austria instead of his own.

The house of Bethune (which has given its name to a city of Flanders, and from whence issued the counts who anciently governed that province) boasts of one Robert de Bethune* protecter of the church of Arras, whose father and grandfather, bearing also the name of Robert, were declared protectors of the province of Artois. One of these two Roberts de Bethune signalized himself in France, by the taking of La-Roche-

credit to the old tradition which derives the house of Austria from Sigebert, son of Theodebert, king of Austrasia, and has applied it not to the second house of Austria, but to the first, although the one is not more true than the other. He is right in saying afterwards, that Raoul or Rodolph, count of Habsbourg, and the first of this house that was emperor, had been steward of the household to Ottocar, king of Bohemia; and that Albert his son, elected emperor likewise, was the first of his house who took the title of duke of Austria, which happened in 1274, when Rodolph gained the dutchies of Austria, Stiria, Carniola, &c. from Ottocar his rival; but he ought at the same time to have done more justice than he has to the antiquity of this house.

* Du Chesne seems to be much of the same opinion. He proves, that Robert, called Faisseus, the head of the house of Bethune, who lived in the tenth century, was descended from a younger branch of the ancient counts of Flanders, and had for his portion the lordship of the city of Bethune, first barony of the earldom of Artois. If this opinion be well founded, it is certain, that it was the city of Bethune from which this branch took its name and which was from that time borne by all the house of Bethune. The title of patron of the church was then so noble, that many sovereigns thought it an honour to be distinguished by it.

vandais, a fortress upon the confines of Auvergne, where the rebel Emerigot Marcel had retired; and the other in the wars of Sicily, by killing with his own hand the tyrant Mainfroy, in the presence of two armies; a service which Charles of Anjou, the rival of Mainfroy, did not reward too highly, by giving him his daughter Catherine to wife. They mention a fourth, Robert de Bethune, who gained a naval battle over the infidels in the Mediterranean. In the church, a James de Bethune, bishop of Cambray, at the time of the croisade of the Albigeois; and a John de Bethune, abbot of Anchin near Valenciennes, who died in the year 1250, with the reputation of great sanctity, and whose bones are revered as those of a martyr. The history of the croisades has not forgot those who distinguished themselves at the taking of Jerusalem, by being the first that mounted the breach. Antony and Coesne de Bethune,* emulating the glory of their ancestors, were also the first that fixed the standard upon the walls of Constantinople, when Baldwin, count of Flanders, won that capital from Alexis Comnenus; and Coesne obtained the government of it.

Whoever has such domestic examples as these, cannot recall them too often to his memory to animate himself to follow them. Happy, if during the course of my life, my conduct may be such, that so many illustrious men disdain not to acknowledge me, nor I

* These are apparently the two brothers, sons of Robert, the fifth lord of Bethune, whom (according to William of Tyr) Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, proposed to marry to the two daughters of Baldwin, king of Jerusalem. It is also certain, that after the death of Peter de Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, this Coësne or Conon de Bethune was declared regent of the empire, during the minority of Philip de Courtenay his son.

have occasion to blush that I am descended from them.

At length the house of Bethune, growing every day more illustrious, became allied* to almost all the sovereign houses in Europe; it entered into that of Austria,† and, to conclude with what honoured it infinitely more, the august house of Bourbon‡ did not contemn its alliance.

But I must confess that the branch from which I am descended had then lost much of its original splendour; it was the issue of a younger brother,§ and the poorest of all who have borne this name. The eldest

* See in Du Chesne and father Anselm, all the alliances of the house of Bethune with different princes of France: with the emperors of Constantinople, the counts of Flanders, Hainault, Boulogne, the kings of Jerusalem, the dukes of Lorrain, the kings of Castile, Leon, Scotland, and England, the families of Courtenay, Chatillon, Montmorency, Melun, Horn, &c.

† By Jean de Coucy, who married John de Bethune. It must be observed, that whenever the house of Coucy is mentioned here, it is not, in reality, the house of Coucy but that of Guines which is meant. The eldest branch of this ancient house of Coucy became extinct in the person of Enguerrand the fourth of Coucy. Enguerrand de Guines, who married Alice de Coucy, the daughter of a younger branch, revived it, by taking the name and the arms. The house of Guines was not less ancient and illustrious than that of Coucy.

‡ By the houses of Chatillon, Néelle, Montmorency, Luxembourg, and lastly by the house of Melun.

Anne de Melun, lady of Rosny, who married John IV, de Bethune, reckoned in her family, says Du Chesne, as well on the side of her father, Hugo de Melun, viscount de Gand, as on that of Jeande Horn, her mother, more than ten princes of the blood-royal of France, and all the sovereigns of Europe.

§ John de Bethune, ancestor in the seventh degree, of the duke of Sully, had two sons, Robert and John. Robert, by three marriages, left only daughters. John is the younger brother, of whom the author here speaks; he was lord of Locres and Autrèche. Matthew de Bethune, another ancestor of the author; had likewise three daughters, and no son.

branch having thrice fallen into the female line, all the great estates it possessed in different parts of Europe did not go to the collateral branches, but went with the daughters to the royal houses they married into.

My particular ancestors, by marrying advantageously, restored to their branch what it wanted to maintain, the dignity of its name; but all these riches were almost entirely dissipated by the prodigality and bad management of my grandfather,* who left nothing to his son, my father, but the estate of Anne de Melun, his wife, which it was not in his power to deprive him of.

As for what relates to me personally: at the time of which I have been speaking, I entered into my eleventh year, being born the 13th of December, 1560. Although I was but the second† of four sons, yet the natural imperfections of my eldest brother‡ made my father look upon me as the future head of his family; all the indications of a strong and vigorous constitution recommending me still more to his favour. My parents bred me in the opinions and doctrine of the reformed religion, and I have continued constant in the profession of it; neither threats, promises, vicissitude of fortune, nor the change even of the king my protector, joined

* John de Bethune, baron de Baye: he married Anne de Melun, daughter of Hugo de Melun, viscount de Grand, and of Jean d'Horn; she was heiress of Rosny. After her death, he married Jean Du-Pré, a private gentlewoman. He sold the lordships of Hautbois, d'Avraincourt, Novion, Caumartin, Baye, Bannay, Taluz, Loches, Villerenard, Chatillon, Broucy, &c. Du Chesne, ibid.

† Francis de Bethune, baron de Rosny, &c. had six sons, but the author does not reckon John and Charles, who died young. The four others are, Lewis, Maximilian, Solomon, and Philip de Bethune. He mentions each of them in another place.

‡ Lewis drowned himself at twenty years of age.

to his most tender solicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce it.

Henry* king of Navarre, who will have the principal share in these Memoirs, was seven years older than me, and when the peace of 1570 was concluded, entered into his eighteenth year.† A noble, open, and insinuating countenance, free, easy, and lively manners, with an uncommon dexterity in performing all the exercises suitable to his age, drew the esteem and admi-

* "The house of Bourbon, from Lewis IX, to Henry IV, had been almost always neglected; and to such extreme poverty was it reduced, that the famous prince of Condé, brother to Antony king of Navarre, and uncle to Henry the Great, had no more than six hundred livres a year for his patrimony." *Essay on the Civil Wars.*

These words of the author of the Henriade might easily lead one into an error, if at the same time we were not warned of it by a better informed historian, who tells us, that the house of Bourbon was then in possession of a revenue of more than eight hundred thousand livres a-year in lands only, which was at that time thought a very considerable fortune. It is certain, that this was all it possessed of the ancient estate of Bourbon, or even of the house of Moncade, the maternal stock; the estates of these two houses, which came by very rich and illustrious alliances, being alienated to purchase the viscounty of Narbonne. Peter Matthieu's history of Henry IV, vol. II. p. 1 and 2. For these alliances, and the genealogy of the house of Bourbon, consult also the New Chronology of Peter Victor Cayet, vol. I. book I. p. 237, and our other historians.

† He was born at Pau in Bearn, December 13th, 1553. M. de Perefixe relates some very curious particulars, concerning his birth. "Henry d'Albert, his grandfather, made his daughter promise to sing a song to him while she was in labour; in order, said he, that you may bring me a child who will neither weep nor make wry faces. The princess had fortitude enough, in the midst of her pains, to keep her word, and sang a song in Bearnois, her own country language. As soon as Henry entered the chamber, the child came into the world without crying; his grandfather immediately carried him to his own apartment, and there rubbed his little lips with a clove of garlic, and made him suck some wine out of a golden cup, to make his constitution strong and vigorous." Perefixe's History of Henry the Great, p. 1. Cayet, vol. I. book I. p. 248.

ration of all who knew him. He began early to* discover those great talents for war, which have so highly distinguished him among other princes. Vigorous and indefatigable by the education of his infancy,† he

* "This young prince, when he was only thirteen years of age, had judgment enough to observe faults in the conduct of the prince of Condé, and the admiral Coligny. It was his opinion, and a very judicious one, that at the great skirmish at Loudun, if the duke of Anjou had had troops in readiness to attack them, he would have done it: that he did not do it, but chose to retire, was a proof of his being in a weak condition, and therefore they ought to have attacked him; this they neglected, and by that means gave time for all his troops to join him. At the battle of Jarnac, he represented to them with equal strength of judgment, that they had not a favourable opportunity for fighting, because the forces of the princes were dispersed, and those of the duke of Anjou all joined: but they were too far engaged to retire. At the battle of Moncontour, when he was but sixteen years of age, he cried out, 'We lose our advantage, and consequently the battle.'" Perefixe, ibid.

† "He was brought up in the castle of Coarasse in Bearn, situated amidst rocks and mountains. Henry d'Albert, his grandfather, would have him clothed and fed like other children in that country. They even accustomed him to run up and down the rocks. It is said, that his ordinary food was brown bread, beef, cheese, and garlic; and that they often made him walk barefoot and bareheaded." Perefixe, ibid.

While he was in the cradle, he was called prince of Viane. A short time after, they gave him the title of duke of Beaumont, and after that prince of Navarre. The queen of Navarre, his mother, took great care of his education, and appointed La Gaucherie, a very learned man, but a strict Calvinist, to be his preceptor.

"While he was yet a child, he was presented to Henry II, who asked him if he would be his son: 'He is my father,' replied the little prince, in Bearnois, pointing to the king of Navarre. Well, said the king, will you be my son-in-law then? Oh, with all my heart, answered the prince. From that time his marriage with the princess Margaret was resolved upon. At Bayonne the duke of Medina, looking at him earnestly, said, this prince either will or ought to be an emperor." Cayet, vol. I. b. I. p. 240.

In the Memoirs of Nevers we meet with some letters written in 1567, by the principal magistrates of Bourdeaux, which contain several very interesting particulars concerning the person and manners of young Henry. "We have here," says one, "the prince of Bearn; it must be confessed, that he is a charming youth. At thirteen years of age he has all the riper

breathed nothing but labour, and seemed to wait with impatience for occasions of acquiring glory. The crown of France not being yet the object of his aspiring wishes, he indulged himself in forming schemes for the recovering that of Navarre, which Spain had unjustly usurped from his family; and this he thought he might be enabled to perform, by maintaining a secret intelligence with the Moors in Spain.* The enmity he bore to this power was open and declared; it was born with him, and he never condescended to conceal it. He felt his courage enflamed at the relation of the battle of Lepanta,† which was fought at that time; and a

qualities of eighteen or nineteen: he is agreeable, polite, obliging, and behaves to every one with an air so easy and engaging, that wherever he is, there is always a crowd. He mixes in conversation like a wise and prudent man, speaks always to the purpose, and when it happens that the court is the subject of discourse, it is easy to see that he is perfectly well acquainted with it, and never says more nor less than he ought, in whatever place he is. I shall all my life hate the new religion for having robbed us of so worthy a subject." And in another, "His hair is a little red, yet the ladies think him not less agreeable on that account: his face is finely shaped, his nose neither too large nor too small, his eyes full of sweetness, his skin brown but clear, and his whole countenance animated with an uncommon vivacity; with all these graces, if he is not in favour with the ladies, he is extremely unfortunate." Again, "He loves diversions and the pleasures of the table. When he wants money, he has the address to procure it in a manner quite new, and very agreeable to others as well as himself; to those, whether men or women, whom he thinks his friends, he sends a promissory note, written and signed by himself, and intreats them to send him back the note, or the sum mentioned in it. Judge, if there is a family that can refuse him: every one looks upon it as an honour to have a note from this prince," &c. Vol. II. p. 586.

* My ewe, said Henry d'Albert, has brought forth a lion. And added, from a secret presage, this child will revenge me on Spain for the injuries I have received from her. Peref. ibid.

† Gained this year against the Turks by Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles the fifth, and generalissimo of the Spanish and Venetian troops.

like opportunity of distinguishing himself against the infidels became one of his most ardent wishes. The vast and flattering expectations which the astrologers agreed in making him conceive, were almost always present to his mind. He saw the foundation of them in that affection which Charles IX, early entertained for him, and which considerably increased a short time before his death: but animated as he was with these happy presages, he laboured to second them only in secret, and never disclosed his thoughts to any person but a small number of his most intimate confidents.

III. In order to form a just idea, either of the general state of affairs in the government of France, or of those of the young prince of Navarre, and what he had to hope or fear at the period of which we are speaking, it is necessary to give a summary relation of the different steps taken by the ministry, both before and after the death of the king* of Navarre, his father, slain before Rouen. I shall go back, therefore, to the rupture which kindled the war between Henry II, and Philip II, of Spain. To which side soever it owed its rise, the event was not so favourable to France, as convenient for the views of the two men who advised

* Antony de Bourbon, husband of Jane d'Albert, queen of Navarre. He turned Catholic. M. de Thou relates an anecdote of him, which we cannot do better than give in the words of the author of the Henriade: "Francis de Guise designed to assassinate him in the chamber of king Francis II. Antony de Navarre had a great deal of courage, though his judgment was weak; he was informed of the plot, yet went resolutely into the chamber where it was to be executed. If they murder me, said he to Reinsy, one of his gentlemen, take my bloody shirt, and carry it to my wife and son; that will teach them what they ought to do to revenge me. Francis the second durst not stain himself with this crime; and the duke of Guise, at leaving his chamber, exclaimed, What a poor king have we!"

it. These were the constable* de Montmorency, and the duke de Guise,† who hoped these troubles would furnish them with the means of reciprocally supplanting each other. In this war there was sufficient employment for both. The duke of Guise, at the head of a powerful army, passed into Italy, where he performed nothing worthy his reputation: but the constable was still more unsuccessful: the most distinguished post, which was the command of the army in Flanders, he reserved to himself, and lost St. Quentin, with the battle of that name, where he was taken prisoner. This defeat was followed by that of the marshal Thermes at Gravelines.‡

The duke of Guise saw all his wishes accomplished by these unfortunate events. He was recalled from Italy, to be placed singly at the head of the council and armies, with which he gained Calais for France. The constable felt in his prison all the force of this blow: and being resolved to go and defend his rights at any price, he treated for a peace with Spain: it was not indeed an honourable one for the king his master, but it released him from captivity. He however lost

* Anne, constable of Montmorency. He received a wound at the battle of St. Dennis, October 10, 1567, of which he died.

† Claude de Lorrain, a stem of the house of Guise, in France, had six sons, Francis, duke of Guise; Charles, archbishop of Rheims, called cardinal of Lorrain; Claude, duke of Aumale; Lewis, cardinal de Guise; Francis, grand prior; and René, marquis d'Elbœuf. Francis, the eldest, is he whom the author here mentions; he married Anne d'Est, and was murdered in 1563, with three poisoned balls, by the hand of John Poltrot de Meri, a gentleman of Angoumois. Poltrot impeached the admiral, the count de la Rochefoucalt, and Theodore de Beze, as accomplices in his crime; but afterwards varying in his accusations, the admiral was declared innocent. His titles were, duke of Guise and Aumale, prince of Joinville, knight of the order of the king, peer, grand master, grand chamberlain, and grand huntsman of France.

‡ Paul de la Berts, lord of Thermes marshal of France.

every thing by the death of king Henry II, who was slain* in the midst of the magnificent rejoicings on account of his daughter's marriage with the king of Spain, which was the seal of the peace. Francis II, who succeeded him, was young, weak, and infirm: he had married the niece† of the duke of Guise, and that nobleman became in his turn sole governor of the king and kingdom. The Protestants could not have fallen into the hands of a more cruel enemy; he was busied in forming vast projects, and meditating the strangest catastrophies in France, when he himself experienced the vicissitudes of fortune. A sudden death, occasioned by a pain in his ear,‡ deprived him of Francis II. The reign of Charles IX, his brother, yet an infant, was singular in this, that the authority seemed to be equally divided between the queen-mother, the princes of the blood, the constable, and the duke of Guise. Each of them in secret supported a party of his own. The good fortune of the duke of Guise placed him a second time at the head of affairs, by the union that Catherine made with him. Upon this union she even founded the principal part of her politics: and it is pretended that the hatred she began to show towards the princes of Bourbon, had a great share in it: this aversion arose from her having taken it into her head, upon the faith of an astrologer, that none of the princes her sons should have issue, in which case the crown must pass to a branch of the house of Bourbon. She could

* He was struck in the eye with a splinter of a lance in a tournament, where he ran against the count de Montgomeri, July 13, 1559.

† Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, daughter of James V, king of Scotland, and of Mary of Lorrain, of the house of Guise.

‡ The abscess which had formed in this part turning to a mortification, he died the 5th of December, 1560. Nó more was necessary to raise a suspicion of his being poisoned.

not resolve to see it go out of her family, and therefore destined it to the posterity of her daughter,* who was married to the duke of Lorrain. Whatever there may be in this predilection of the queen-mother,† it is certain it gave birth to two parties in politics as well as religion, which began from that moment to fill the kingdom with confusion, horror, and the most dreadful calamities.

This dreadful tempest seemed solely formed to burst upon the head of the young prince of Navarre. The king of Navarre, his father, was just then dead;‡ his death, indeed, left a prince and a king to be head of the reformed religion in France; but this prince was a child of seven years of age, and the mark at which all the blows of the new council were aimed, who acted in concert with the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and all the Catholics of Europe. Indeed, this party experienced the most cruel reverses of fortune; yet, by the wise conduct of its chiefs, and the early talents of young Henry, it supported itself with glory till the peace of 1570, at which period these Memoirs commence.

* Claude of France, the second of three daughters which Catherine de Medicis had by her marriage with Henry II. She married the duke of Lorrain, and had children by him.

† M. L'Abbé le Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoires of Castelnau, assigns another reason for queen Catherine's hatred to the king of Navarre: he declares he read in these memoirs, that this prince and the duke d'Alençon, being prisoners together, they plotted to strangle the queen-mother with their own hands, when she came into their chamber. This design was not executed through the horror they themselves felt at the fact; and the king of Navarre afterwards but ill concealing the secret, Catherine de Medicis was to the last degree enraged against him.

‡ The author is mistaken in placing the death of Antony king of Navarre in 1560; it did not happen till 1562, by a wound he received at the siege of Rouen. See his character and eulogium in the Memoirs of Brantome, vol. iii. p. 242.

Prince Henry made use of the repose that was given him, to visit his estates, and his government of Guyenne; after which he came and settled in Rochelle, with the queen of Navarre, his mother, the admiral de Coligny,* and the principal chiefs of the Protestant party, to whom this important city, far distant from the court, seemed most advantageous for the interest of their religion; a very wise resolution, had they been capable of firmly adhering to it.

IV. Queen Catherine dissembled the trouble this conduct gave her, and during the whole year 1571, spoke only of faithfully observing the treaties, of entering into a closer correspondence with the Protestants, and carefully preventing all occasions of rekindling the war. This was the pretended object of the marshal de Cossé's deputation, whom she sent to Rochelle, with Malassize and La Proutiere,† masters of requests, her creatures and confidants: but the true motive was to observe all the steps of the Calvinists, to sound their inclinations, and draw them insensibly into an entire confidence in her, which was absolutely necessary to her designs: and she forgot nothing on her part that was capable of inspiring it. The marshal de Montmorency‡ was sent to Rouen with the president de Morsan,§ to do justice there for the outrages committed against the Huguenots: any infringements of the treaty of peace were severely punished: and king Charles usually called it his treaty, and his peace. This prince would on all occasions artfully insinuate, that he consented to this peace, in order to support the princes of

* Gaspard de Coligny, lord of Chatillon-sur-Loing, admiral of France.

† Philip Gourau de la Proûtiere.

‡ Francis de Montmorency, eldest son of Anne, constable of Montmorency, died in 1579.

§ Bernard Prevot, lord of Morsan.

his blood against the too great authority of the Guises, whom he accused of conspiring with Spain to throw the kingdom into confusion.* These noblemen seemed daily to decrease in favour: and their complaints, whether true or false, gave all imaginable colour to this report. Charles did not even make the least difficulty of advancing as far as Blois and Bourgueil, to confer with the Protestants, who, for their deputies had named† Téligny, son-in-law to the admiral, Briquemaut, Beauvais-la Nocle, and Cavagne:‡ and these four deputies, when they went afterwards to Paris, were loaded with presents and civilities.

The marshal de Cossé did not fail to give weight to these appearances of sincerity: having by that means insinuated himself, he began to confer in earnest with the queen of Navarre on the scheme of marrying the prince her son to the princess Margaret, sister to the

* Charles IX had a natural aversion to the duke of Guise; he was so offended at his having demanded the princess Margaret his sister in marriage, that speaking on this subject one day to the grand prior of France, natural son of Henry II, he said, showing him two swords, "Of these two swords that thou seest, there is one of them to kill thee, if to-morrow at the chase thou dost not kill the duke of Guise with the other." These words were repeated afterwards to the duke of Guise, who quitted his pursuit. F. Matthieu, book vi. p. 333. The same historian adds, that Charles IX, pursued the duke of Guise one day with a javelin in his hand, and struck it forcibly into a door, at the same moment that the duke came out of it, for having, in playing, touched him with a file. Ibid p. 376.

† Charles, lord of Teligny in Rouergue, Montreuil, &c. married to Louisa de Coligny. He had something so sweet and amiable in his countenance, that at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, those persons who were first sent to assassinate him, stopt as in suspense, and had not resolution enough to strike the blow. Francis Briquemaut. John de Lafin, called Beauvais-la-Nocle, to distinguish him from Philip de Lafin, his eldest brother.

‡ The author wrote Tavannes, but we must read Cavagne. Arnaud de Cavagne was a counsellor of the parliament of Toulouse.

king of France; and was commissioned by Charles to promise a portion of four hundred thousand crowns. For the prince of Condé,* he proposed the third heiress of Cleves, a very considerable match; and the †countess d'Entremont for the admiral de Coligny, whom he rightly judged would be more difficult than all the others to be persuaded: to this last article, therefore, he added a nuptial present of a hundred thousand crowns, which the king engaged to give the admiral, together with all the benefices his brother the cardinal had enjoyed.‡ The marshal de Biron§ was

* Henry the first, prince of Condé: Mary of Cleves, marchioness d'Isle, related to the Guises, and brought up in the court of the queen of Navarre. She had no children by her husband, who afterwards married Charlotte Catherine de la Trimouille.

† Jaqueline de Montbel, only daughter of Sebastian, count of Entremont, widow of Claud Batarnai, lord of Anton, who was killed at the battle of St. Denis. The duke of Savoy detained her some time in his dominions, but she escaped, and came to Rochelle to marry the admiral. His first wife was Charlotte de Laval.

‡ Odet de Chastillon, cardinal bishop of Bauvais, abbot of St. Benoit sur Loire, &c. He was made a cardinal at sixteen years of age; and although he was degraded from this dignity by pope Pius the fourth, he was publicly married in the habit of a cardinal to Elizabeth de Hauteville, a lady of Normandy, to whom he gave the title of countess of Bauvais, and as such she took rank at the public ceremonies. In 1564, he was accused of high treason before the parliament of Paris. He died in the beginning of the year 1571, at Southampton in England, whither he was sent during the war, to support the interests of the Calvinists with queen Elizabeth; and after the peace he was commissioned by the king to treat of a marriage between that princess and the duke of Alençon. It is certain, though D'Aubigné takes no notice of it, that his valet de chambre poisoned him with an apple, as he was preparing to return to France, being recalled by the admiral his brother. Thuanus, lib. 50.

D'Aubigné adds, that the admiral was in reality put in possession of great part of these benefices, and enjoyed them during the space of a year; and that Charles the ninth gave him also a hundred thousand francs, to purchase furniture for his house of Chastillon. D'Aubigné's History, vol. II. book i. chap. i.

§ Armand de Gontault de Biron, marshal of France.

sent to confirm these splendid offers, and entirely gained the queen of Navarre, by feigning to impart to her in confidence the suspicions which were entertained at court, that Philip II, king of Spain, had poisoned the queen his wife, Elizabeth of France,* who had been falsely accused of an intrigue with the infant Don Carlos.† At the same time he told her, under an injunction of secrecy, that the court being resolved to revenge this injury, would carry the war into Flanders and Artois, the restitution of which would be demanded from the king of Spain, as being ancient fiefs of the crown, like that of Navarre; and that they would commence hostilities by succouring Mons, which the prince of Orange‡ had just taken from the Spaniards.

To complete all, he added, that the king had fixed upon the admiral to command his army, with the title of viceroy of the Low Countries: and he was actually at that time permitted to nominate the general officers who were to serve under him, as a short time before he had done the commissioners of the peace. The report of this expedition into the Low Countries spread so far, that it is certain the Grand Seignor offered the king of France his gallies and troops to make a diversion, and to facilitate the conquest. With regard to the queen of England, nothing was omitted that was necessary to be done on this occasion. Montmorency

* Eldest daughter of Henry II, and Catherine de Medicis. Most of the French historians are of this opinion. The Spaniards attribute her death to bleeding, and medicines, which the physicians, not knowing that she was with child, made her take. She died a little time after, in 1568.

† Don Carlos, prince of Spain, whom Philip II, his father, also put to a violent death.

‡ William of Nassau, prince of Orange.

was sent ambassador thither, with instructions to use every method to gain Elizabeth, and prevail upon her to choose one of the king's brothers for a husband; a marriage, which, it was said, would alike strengthen the union of the two religions, and the two powers.

This conduct, so full of seeming frankness, might have been suspected by its excess; yet it had the designed effect, and the language of the courtiers did not a little contribute towards it. The desire of breathing the air of a gay and magnificent court, and of enjoying the honours which were prepared for them, served more than any thing else to banish the scruples of the Protestants.* Beauvais, Boursaut, and Francourt, were the first who suffered themselves to be persuaded, and they made a point of it afterwards to persuade others. Some hints for a journey to Paris had been already thrown out; these three persons strongly supported the design, and represented to the queen of Navarre, that if she refused to go upon this occasion, she would not only give offence to the king, but loose all the advantage of this favourable situation of her affairs. At first she doubted, and continued irresolute during some months, but yielding about the end of the year 1571, preparations for the journey were made at the beginning of 1572, and the month of May following fixed for their departure.

The Huguenots, one would imagine, affected to close their eyes, that they might not see a thousand circumstances, sufficient to make the sincerity of such great promises suspected. The king and queen could not so well dissemble, but that they suffered their real senti-

* ——Beauvais, governor to the prince of Navarre. Gervais Barbier, lord of Francourt, chancellor to the king of Navarre.

ments to be sometimes guessed at. It was known, that Charles had one day said to Catherine, "Do I not play my part well?" To which she answered, "Very well, my son, but you must hold out to the end." Something also had transpired, relating to the result of the conferences held at Bayonne,* between the courts of France and Spain. The king of Navarre had been very ill received in his government of Guyenne; Bourdeaux had shut its gates against him; and the marquis de Villars,† who commanded the royal army there, would neither draw off his troops, nor permit them to receive orders from the prince. In Rochelle, they were not ignorant that the king had actually a naval force all along the coast, which they supposed had been destined for Holland; and the citizens had moreover discovered the artifices Strozzy,‡ La Garde, Lansac, and Landereau, had employed to gain the custody of their gates, and to seize their city. In fine, while the court boasted of its exactness in maintaining the treaty of

* In 1564, the queen-mother, after having travelled through great part of the kingdom, advanced almost to Bayonne, where she had many private conferences with the duke of Alva, who had attended the queen of Spain thither. There were appearances sufficient to make it probable, that the subject of these conferences was an alliance between the Pope, France, and the House of Austria, and the means by which they should extirpate the Protestant party; but there is no certainty that the design of the massacre of Bartholomew, which was not executed till several years after, was formed there. Matthieu tells us, that the prince of Navarre being then a child, and almost continually with Catherine de Medicis, heard something of the plot to exterminate all the heads of the Protestant party: he gave notice of it to the queen, his mother, and she to the prince of Condé and the admiral, and the rage this inspired them with, carried them to the enterprise at Meaux. Hist. of France. vol. I. p. 283.

† Honorat, a bastard of Savoy, marquis of Villars.

‡ Philip Strozzy: the baron de la Garde, called captain Polin: Lansac the younger, brother of Lewis de Lusignan of St. Gelais, lord of Lansac; and Charles Rouhault, lord of Landerau, who commanded this fleet.

peace in its fullest extent, it was but too plain, that a great number of injuries were done to the Protestants, which the court either authorized, or connived at. The chancellor de l'Hopital* being inclined to punish the aggressors at Rouen, Dieppe, Orange, &c. this, together with his refusal to seal the revocation of an edict of pacification, was the cause of his banishment from court; but, without all these instances of treachery, the Huguenots, one would imagine, were sufficiently warned by the knowledge they had of Catherine's temper, as well as that of her son. Could they flatter themselves that this prince, naturally furious, and vindictive, would forget the attempt at Meaux,† the invasion of Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Lion, &c. Havre given up by the Huguenots to the English, foreigners introduced into the heart of the kingdom, so many battles fought, and so much blood shed? Reasons of state, that phrase so familiar with sovereigns, that under the disguise of policy they may satisfy their personal resentment, and other passions, will scarce permit them to suffer their subjects to engage in such enterprizes with impunity. Catherine, to that time, had always persisted to impute the death of her husband to them, which she could never pardon, no more than their having treated the whole family of Medicis as the enemies of Christ. Nor was there less imprudence in trust-

* Michael de l'Hopital, chancellor of France. The seals were taken from him, and given to John de Morvilliers. He died in 1573.

† In the year 1567, the prince of Condé, and the admiral de Coligny, formed the design of seizing Charles IX, at Meaux, where he then was, and from whence the queen-mother made him set out precipitately at night, to return to Paris. This design would have been executed, but for the seasonable arrival of three thousand Swiss, who covered the king in his retreat, and the Calvinists durst not attack him. See the historians.

ing the Parisians, whose animosity and fury against the Huguenots had broke out again, in the affair of the cross of Gatine.* From all this, my father conceived such strong apprehensions, that when the report of the court of Navarre's journey to Paris first reached him, he could not give credit to it. Firmly persuaded that the present calm would be of short continuance, he hastened to take advantage of it, in order to shut himself up immediately with all his effects in Rochelle, when every one else talked of nothing but leaving it. The queen of Navarre herself informed him more particularly of this design soon after, and requested him to join her in her way to Vendome. My father prepared to go; and being desirous of taking me with him, he ordered me, some days before his departure, to attend him in his chamber, where no one being present but La Durandiere, my preceptor, he thus addressed me: "Maximilian, since custom does not permit

* The following is the fact, as it is related by M. de Thou, Book L. anno 1571. Philip Gatine, a rich merchant of St. Denis-street, having some years before been convicted of lending his house to the Huguenots, to serve them for a church, he was, by the parliament of Paris, condemned to be hanged or burnt the 30th of July. His house was demolished, and in its place a pillar was erected in the form of a cross, which was afterwards called the cross of Gatine. With the edict of pacification, passed in the year 1570, the Calvinists obtained, that this cross should be thrown down, which after some delay was at last executed; but it occasioned such violent tumults amongst the populace, that the council was obliged to send some troops thither, under the command of the duke de Montmorency. Felibien, in the second volume of his history of the city of Paris, says, that this cross was replaced at the entry of the churchyard of the Innocents, after the iron plate, upon which the decree of the parliament was engraved, had been taken away; and it is still to be seen there. Sauval, vol. II. book viii. of the Antiquities of Paris, mentions the place where this house stood, in the street of St. Denis, over-against the street of the Lombards, where indeed there is a hollow in the ground, which possibly might be the foundation of Gatine's house.

"me to make you the principal heir of my estates, to "balance this disadvantage I will endeavour to enrich "you with virtues; by means of which, I hope, as "hath been predicted to me, you will one day distin- "guish yourself. Prepare, therefore, to support with "fortitude whatever difficulties you may meet with in "the world, and by nobly surmounting them, procure "the esteem of all good men, particularly that of the "master to whom I am desirous of giving you; and in "whose service I recommended to you to live and die. "I am going to Vendome, to meet the queen of Na- "varre, and the prince her son: prepare yourself to "accompany me, and when I present you to him, of- "fer him your service: and, that you may express "yourself gracefully, study a short speech for that "purpose." I accordingly attended him to Vendome.* He found there a general confidence, and an air of satisfaction on every face, which in public he durst not object to: but whenever he had on opportunity of conversing in private, either with the queen, the prince, the admiral, the counts Ludovic† and Rochefoucaut, and the other Protestant lords, he very freely told them that he was surprised they had so soon forgot the many occasions that had been given them for well-grounded apprehensions: that from a reconciled enemy excessive promises and civilities were no less sus-

* Francis de Bethune, the author's father, followed the prince of Condé to the battle of Jarnac, and was there taken prisoner. An indictment of high treason was made out against him, for having borne arms against his majesty, and his estates were seized, but were restored to him at the peace. Du Chesne.

† Or Lewis of Nassau, brother to William prince of Orange. Francis, count of Rochefoucaut, and prince of Marsillac, slain in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

picious, and much more dangerous, than open menaces and declared hatred: that it was hazarding still more, to expose a young prince, too little guarded against the allurements of pleasure, to the attractions of the most voluptuous court in the world. He represented to them, that instead of dreaming of an alliance so unhappy as that must necessarily be, between this prince and a princess who professed a different religion, they ought rather to have endeavoured to marry him to the queen of England, who might have assisted him in his attempts to recover the crown of Navarre, and possibly, as occasions offered, that of France likewise. He had so strong a foreboding of the fatal consequences of this French match, that he often said, if the nuptials were celebrated at Paris, the bridal favours would be crimson. This prudent advice was looked upon to be the effect of weakness and timidity. My father, not willing to appear wiser than so many persons of more distinguished understandings, suffered himself, contrary to his opinion, to be driven with the torrent, and only demanded time to put himself into a condition of appearing with that splendour his rank required, in a court where every thing was magnificent. For this purpose, he again took the road to Rosny; but before he went, he presented me to the prince of Navarre, in the presence of the queen his mother, and, in my name, gave him assurances of an inviolable attachment; which I confirmed with great boldness, putting one knee to the ground. The prince raised me immediately, and after twice embracing me, had the goodness to commend the zeal which my family had always shown for him, and, with that engaging air so natural to him, promised me his protection; a promise

I at that time regarded as the mere effect of his complaisance, but which I have since seen fulfilled far beyond my hopes and merit. I did not return with my father to Rosny, but went to Paris in the queen of Navarre's train. As soon as I arrived, being sensible of the necessity my youth had of instruction, I applied myself closely to my studies, without neglecting, however, to make my court to the prince my master. I lived with a governor and valet de chambre, at a distance from the court, in a quarter of Paris, where almost all the colleges stood, and continued there till the bloody catastrophe, which happened a short time after.

Nothing could be more kind than the reception the queen of Navarre, her children, and principal servants met with from the king, and queen-mother, nor more obliging than their treatment of them; Charles IX was continually praising the virtues and good qualities of the count de Rochefoucaut, de Teligny, Resnel,* Beaudisner, Piles, Pluviaut, Colombieres, Grammont, Duras, Bouchavannes, Gamache, my father, and other Protestant lords; the admiral he always called father, and took upon himself the task of reconciling him with the princes of the house of Guise; he also granted him the pardon of Villandry,† which he had denied

* Antony de Clermont, marquis of Resnel; Galiot de Crussol, lord of Beaudisner, brother to the duke d'Uzés; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, in Perigord; N—de Rochefort, lord of Pluviaut Claveau, a gentleman of Poitevin; Francis de Bricqueville de Colombieres; Antony de Grammont, viscount d'Aster; John de Durefort, viscount Duras; Bayancort, lord of Bouchavannes; Nicholas Rouhaut, lord of Gamache.

† Villandry being one day at play with the king, was so rash as to commit some offence against majesty itself, for which he was sentenced to be put to death. Davila, book v. See d'Aubigné, who relates this fact more particularly, vol. II. book i. ch. 2.

to his own mother and his brothers, his crime being thought too great to be forgiven. When the admiral was wounded, the king, at the first news he heard of it, broke into oaths and threatenings; and declared, that the assassin* should be sought for in the most se-

* He was called Nicholas de Louviers, lord of Maurevert in Brie: "Must "I," said Charles IX, throwing his racket at him in a rage, "be perpetu- "ally troubled with new broils; shall I never have any quiet?" Many persons have doubted, whether these threatenings of Charles, and his violent transports of rage, were not sincere; and whether this prince, who had at first entered into all the designs of the queen his mother, did not suffer himself at last to be gained by the admiral de Coligny, in those private conversations they had together, in which the admiral never ceased to represent to him the fatal consequences of this princess's bad government, and to exhort him to shake off his dependence on her. Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 55, and 66, and many other writers of those times, produce such strong proofs of this fact, that it is very difficult to decide upon the question. If the Memoirs of Tavannes may be relied on, Charles IX and his mother agreed so ill, that this princess saw no other means of preserving her authority, which she was upon the point of losing, than by causing the admiral to be assassinated: and this writer pretends, that Maurevert was suborned, unknown to the king, to strike the blow. On the other side the historian Matthieu believes he has sufficient reason to maintain, vol. I. book vi. that Charles IX deceived the admiral from first to last. He relates, that this prince observing the opposition some of his counsellors gave to the design of extirpating the Huguenots, represented to them in a rage, that the kingdom was lost if their plot was not executed that same night, for a longer delay would put it out of their power to prevent the schemes the Huguenots were forming; who, he told them, were well acquainted with their design. He added, that those who did not approve of his resolution, would never be considered by him as his servants.

But this historian does not perceive that, a few pages after, he himself lessens the weight of these proofs, by relating a conversation which passed between Henry III, and his physician Miron, in Poland; of which the following is an abridgment, for it is too long to be inserted here at length. Henry III, then duke of Anjou, going, some days before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, into the chamber of the king his brother, observed, that this prince looked upon him with eyes so full of rage, and with such indications of fury in his countenance, that, apprehending the consequence of

cret recesses of the palaces of the Guises, and made all the court, after his example, visit the wounded per-

these violent emotions, he softly regained the door, and hurried immediately to give the alarm to the queen-mother. She, from what had happened to herself, being but too much disposed to believe it, resolved to get rid of Coligny without further delay. Maurevert having partly failed in his attempt, since he only wounded the admiral in the arm, the queen-mother and the duke of Anjou, finding they could not hinder the king from visiting him, thought it necessary to accompany him, and, under pretence of sparing the admiral's strength, interrupted, as often as they could, the private conversation they held together. During this visit, Catherine, who was surrounded with Calvinists, observed, that they frequently whispered to each other, and looked on her from time to time with very suspicious eyes. This adventure, she acknowledged was the most dangerous of all she had ever been engaged in. As they returned, she pressed the king so vehemently, to tell her the subject of his private discourse with the admiral, that this prince could not refrain from betraying it, by telling her, with his usual oath, that she spoiled all his affairs, or words to that purpose. Catherine, now more alarmed than before, had recourse to an artifice that succeeded. She told her son, that he was ready to fall into the snare the admiral had prepared for him; that he was upon the point of being delivered up to the Huguenots, combined with foreigners; and had nothing to hope for from his Catholic subjects, who through disgust at finding themselves betrayed, had chosen another leader. All the other counsellors, excepting only the marshal de Retz, seconded her arguments so strongly, that Charles himself being seized with fear, and passing from one extreme to the other, was the first to resolve and even press, not only the murder of the admiral, but of all the Huguenots; to the end, said he, that there may not one be left to reproach me. All the rest of that day and the following night, they consulted upon the means of executing this design. At break of day Charles, the queen-mother, and the duke of Anjou, went to the gate of the Louvre, and hearing a pistol go off, fear and remorse seized them. The king sent orders to the duke of Guise to proceed no further; to which the duke replied, his orders had come too late: and they recovering from their consternation, joined in every thing that was afterwards performed.

It is possible, I think, to reconcile these different opinions, and preserve to the proofs alleged on each side all their force, by saying, that Charles IX, who certainly invited the admiral to Paris with no other view than to have him murdered with the rest of the Huguenots, suffered himself to be shaken by his arguments; and that he embraced alternately propositions from each of the contending parties; and from their different reasons was

son; and when the Guises came to intreat that he would condescend to hear their justification, he gave them a very unfavourable reception. The Spanish ambassador was on this occasion so ill treated, that he thought fit to withdraw: nor could pope Pius V, escape the resentment of Charles, he having refused to give the necessary dispensation for Henry's marriage with the princess Margaret, for which the most magnificent preparations were then making. The king carried his respect for this prince so far, as to dispense with his going into the church of Notredame,* and even with observing any

thrown into a state of irresolution, from whence he was only freed by the natural impetuosity of his disposition, which Catherine well knew how to take advantage of. Coligny's security proceeded from his not being able to doubt the efficacy of his arguments on the mind of this prince; otherwise it would not have been possible for Charles to have so long imposed upon a man of the admiral's great prudence and sagacity. A young king of three and twenty years of age, who till then had been almost always governed by others, was not capable of that deep policy which they have had the complaisance to attribute to him: however, it must be confessed, that this young prince already carried dissimulation to its utmost height, of which his having never discovered the secrets of his council, or those of the admiral to each other, although strongly pressed to it, is an incontestible proof.

* "The king," says le Grain, "was resolved that the marriage should "not be celebrated in a manner wholly conformable to either religion. "Not to the Calvinist, because the vows were to be received by a priest, "who was to be the cardinal of Bourbon; nor to the Romish, because "these vows were to be received without the sacramental ceremonies of "the church.

"A great scaffold was erected in the court before the principal gate and "entry of the church of Paris, on Monday, August the 18th, 1572, upon "which were betrothed and married on the same day, and by a single act, "The most high, &c. This done, the bridegroom retired to meeting to "hear a sermon, and the bride went into the church to hear mass, accord-"ing to the articles of the treaty of marriage; after which, they both came "to the entertainment prepared for them in the great hall of the palace," &c. B. le Grain, Dec. of Henry the Great, book ii.

Charles the ninth gave his sister three hundred thousand crowns for a

of the Romish ceremonies. The cardinal de Bourbon* making some remonstrances upon these tolerations, which to him seemed to exceed all bounds, was dismissed with a severe reprimand: and when the queen of Navarre died, the whole court appeared sensibly affected, and went into deep mourning. In a word, it is not passing too harsh a censure upon this conduct of Catherine and her son, to call it an almost incredible prodigy of dissimulation; since a man of the admiral de Coligny's great wisdom fell into the snare, notwithstanding a thousand circumstances concurred to make him apprehend the danger that was approaching: for it was loudly said, that Genlis and La Noue,† who had been sent to the assistance of the prince of Orange, were defeated with the connivance of the French court, which, whilst uncertain of success in the principal object of its dissimulation, was not willing to hazard all the consequences which that dissimulation might produce.

The Protestants were also informed of the conferences which the queen-mother, and the principal ministers, held with cardinal Alexandrin, nephew of pope Pius V, and with the Guises, who were twice discovered conversing in masks with the king, the mother, the

portion; and the queen of Navarre yielded the Upper and Lower Counties of Armagnac, &c. to her son at his marriage. F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi.

* Charles de Bourbon, cardinal, uncle to Henry IV.

† John d'Angest d'Ivoy, of the ancient house of Genlis. Francis de la Noue, a gentleman of the greatest reputation in the Protestant party, and esteemed even by the Catholics themselves. The admiral speaking of this misfortune to Charles the ninth, attributed it to the secret being but ill kept in the council. Charles demanded of the Duke of Alva, by Claude Mondoucet, his resident in the Low Countries, the French Protestant gentlemen, who had been taken prisoners. De Thou, anno 1572, book ii.

duke de Retz,* and the chancellor de Birague:† this was sufficient to show what they ought to think of their pretended disgrace. In the death of the queen of Navarre,‡ plain indications of poison were perceived, and it was never doubted, but that the wound the admiral received came from the house of Villemur, preceptor to the Guises; and the assassin was met in his flight, upon a horse belonging to the king's stable. Even the guards which Charles placed about the admiral (under pretence of securing his person from the

* Albert de Gondy, duke de Retz, marshal of France.

† René de Birague, a Milanese, bishop of Lavaur, afterwards cardinal. He was at that time only keeper of the seals, and was not made chancellor till the following year, after the death of the chancellor de L'Hopital. See his eulogium in the negociations of Busbeq. Aug. Gist. Busbequii Epis. 29. Of him it was said, that he was cardinal without a title, chancellor without seals, and priest without a benefice.

‡ Her lodgings were in the house of Charles Gaillart, bishop of Chatres, a man violently suspected of Calvinism. Soon after her return from Blois, whither she had followed the court, she was seized with a fever, and died on the fifth day of her illness. Many different opinions prevailed concerning the manner of her death. The Memoirs of L'Etoile, D'Aubigné, and all the Calvinists, attribute it to poison, which, they say, was given her in a pair of gloves by a Florentine, named René, perfumer to the queen-mother. De Serres, in his Memoirs, gives us to understand, that the physicians who opened her body, had orders not to touch her brain, which was supposed to be affected by the poison; but they are all contradicted by Le Grain, and several others, who maintain, that she died of a pleurisy, occasioned by her being overheated in making preparations for the nuptials of her son; to which was added, the vexation she conceived at being obliged to kneel to the holy sacrament as it passed before her house, on Corpus Christi day. La Popeliniere, Perefixe, and De Thou, endeavour to remove all suspicions of poison. The last mentioned assures us, that Charles IX ordered the head of this princess to be opened, as well as the rest of her body; and if the physicians did not do it, it was because they found the true cause of her death in an abscess in her body. This is also the opinion of Matthieu the historian.

like attempts),* were almost all his declared enemies; nor was it less certain, that all the citizens of Paris were furnished with arms, which, by the king's order, they kept in their houses.

The most clear-sighted amongst the Huguenots, yielding to proofs so convincing, quitted the court, and even Paris itself, or at least lodged in the suburbs: M. Langoiran,† when blamed for thus absenting him-

* This is all true, and proves that the queen-mother, and not the king, was the designer of this stratagem. It is hard to say, what was her real intention by this stroke; whether she sought to get rid of a man who possessed too much power over the king's mind and was capable of ruining her design of extirpating all the Huguenots; or whether, if the admiral had died of this wound, she would have confined her vengence to his death only: or lastly, whether she expected the noise of this assassination would excite the Calvinists in Paris to revolt, and by that means furnish her with the occasion she wanted to fall upon them, for which her party was already prepared. In the council, many expedients to give a pretence for attacking them were proposed; amongst others, the assault of an artificial fort built in the Louvre, which would afford them an opportunity of turning the feigned attack into a real one against the Huguenots; at last, they resolved to put them all to the sword in the night.

The admiral lodged in the street Betisy, in an inn, which is called at present the hotel S. Pierre. The room in which he was murdered is still shown there.

† N——De Montferrand, baron of Langoiran. John be Rohan lord of Frontenay. John de Ferrieres; viscount of Chartes. N——de Loncaunay, a gentleman of Normandy, slain at the battle of Yvry, at seventy years of age. N——de Rabodanges. In the manuscripts in the king's library, No. 8669. p. 31, may be seen the original of a letter of Charles the Ninth to M. de Rabodanges, dated from St. Maur, May 6, 1566, which begins thus, " Monsieur de Rabodanges, I know with what fidelity you have act- " ed on occasion of the commission which I delivered you some time ago, " to punish the vagabonds and robbers of your country."

N——— de Segur de Pardaillan. N——— du Touchet, a gentleman of Normandy, near Domfront. N——— des Hayes Gasque. Guy de Lusignan of St. Gelais, son to Lewis, lord of Lansac. Peter de Chouppes. John de la Fin, lord of Beauvais la Nocle. Peter de Grandrie, steward in ordinary of the king's household, &c. All these persons earnestly pressed the admiral to leave Paris. "By doing so," he replied, "I must show

self, replied, that the good cheer, and fine promises of the court induced him to quit it, that he might not be caught in the net like some ill advised persons. The marshal Montmorency retired to Chantilly, for the same reasons; and when Montgomery, Frontenay, the viscount de Chartres, de Loncaunay, de Rabodanges, Du-Breuil, de Segur, de Say, Du-Touchet, Des-Hayes, de Saint-Gelais, de Chouppes, de Beauvais, de Grandrie, de Saint Estienne, d'Arnes, de Boisec, and many other gentlemen of Normandy and Poitou, were pressed to come nearer the court, they replied, that they found the air of the suburbs agree better with their constitution, and that of the fields was still more advantageous for it. Happily my father was one of those, whose life was preserved by a like prudent distrust. When they were informed that the bishop of Valence,* on taking leave of the king for his embassy to Poland, had penetrated into the secret, and been indiscreet enough to reveal it to some of his friends, and that they had intercepted letters sent to Rome by the cardinal de Pellevé,† in which he unfolded the whole mystery to the cardinal de Lorrain; it was then that these gentlemen renewed their entreaties to the king of Navarre, that he would either leave Paris, or permit them to retire to their own houses. To this advice the prince opposed that which had been given him

" either fear or distrust. My honour would be injured by the one, by the " other the king. I should be again obliged to have recourse to a civil " war, and I would rather die than see again the miseries I have seen, "suffer the distress I have already suffered." Matthieu, vol. I, book vi, 343.

* Jean de Montluc, bishop of Valence.

† Nicholas de Pellevé, cardinal, archbishop of Rheims, passionately devoted to the league. Charles, cardinal of Lorrain.

by a great many other persons, and some even of the Protestant party; for where are not traitors to be found? They warned him to be cautious; they told him the names of all those who had been gained by the queen-mother to deceive him. He listened to nothing. The admiral* appeared no less incredulous; his evil destiny began by blinding him, to lead him to his ruin. It would have been well, if he had acted, with the same prudence that the marshal de Montmorency did, who could never be drawn from Chantilly, notwithstanding repeated invitations from the king, who prest him to come and partake his favour with the admiral, and be near his person, to assist him with his advice.

V. If I were inclined to increase the general horror, inspired by an action† so barbarous as that per-

* It has been said that all the great actions which the admiral Coligny performed in his life, were against his God, his religion, his country, and his king; how much is it to be lamented, that he did not employ his talents more usefully! All the historians agree in saying, he was the most consummate politician, and greatest warrior that ever appeared. It is thought that it was in consequence of the advice he gave to the prince of Orange, that the Low Countries rebelled against Spain, maintained the war during ten years, and formed the plan of a republic, which in part has succeeded. It is also believed, and with good reason, that he would have made a like attempt in France. In Villeroy's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 322, 340, he is accused with great violence; but he always steadily denied, particularly in his last will, his ever having any intention of attempting the person of the king. See his eulogium, and political designs in Brantome, vol. III. De Thou, and the other historians.

† What M. de Sully says of the massacre ought not to be thought too severe: "An execrable action," cries Perefixe, "which never had, and I trust in God never will have, its like." Pope Pius V was so much afflicted at it, that he shed tears; but Gregory XIII, who succeeded him, ordered a public thanksgiving to God for this massacre to be offered at Rome, and sent a legate to congratulate Charles IX, and to exhort him to persevere. The following is a short account of the massacre: All the

petrated on the 24th of August, 1572, and too well known by the name of the *massacre of St. Bartho-*

necessary measures having been taken, the ringing of the bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, for matins, was the signal for beginning the slaughter. The admiral de Coligny was first murdered, in the midst of his servants, by Besmes, a German, a domestic of the duke of Guise, and others, the duke himself, and the chevalier de Guise, staying below in the court. His body was thrown out of the window. They cut off his head, and carried it to the queen-mother, together with his box of papers; among which, it is said, they found the memoirs of his own times, composed by himself. After every sort of indignity had been offered to the bleeding carcase, it was hung on the gibbet of Montfaucon, whence the marshal de Montmorency caused it to be taken down in the night, and buried at Chantilly. The whole house of Guise had been personally animated against the admiral, ever since the assassination of Claude, duke of Guise, by Poltrot de Meré, whom they believed to have been incited to this crime by him; an accusation of which the admiral certainly was never able to clear himself. If this cruel slaughter (as many people are fully persuaded) was only an effect of the Guises' resentment, who advised the queen-mother to it, with a view of revenging their own injuries, it must be confessed; that no individual ever took so severe a vengeance for an offence. All the domestics of the admiral were afterwards slain; and the slaughter was at the same time begun by the king's emissaries in all parts of the city. The most distinguished of the Calvinists that perished, were Francis de la Rochefoucault, who having been at play part of the night with the king, and finding himself seized in bed by men in masks, thought it was the king and his courtiers, who came to divert themselves with him. Antony de Clermont, marquis de Resnel, was murdered by his own kinsman, Lewis de Clermont, of Bussy d'Amboise, with whom he was then at law for the marquisate of Clermont. Charles de Quellenec, baron of Pont in Bretagne, whose dead body excited the curiosity of the ladies of the court, on account of a process carried on by his wife, Catherine de Parthenay, daughter and heiress of John de Soubize. Francis Nonpar de Caumont was murdered in his bed, betwixt his two sons, one of whom was stabbed by his side, but the other, who was wounded, by counterfeiting himself dead, and lying concealed under the bodies of his father and brother, escaped. Teligny, son-in-law to the admiral; Charles de Beaumanoir de Lavardin; Antony de Marafin, lord of Guerchy; Beaudisner, Pluviaut, Berny, Du Briou, governor to the marquis of Conti; Beauvais, governor to the king of Navarre; Colombieres, Francourt, &c. The count of Montgomery was pursued by the duke of Guise as far as Montfort

lomew, I should in this place enlarge upon the number, the rank, the virtues, and great talents of those who were inhumanly murdered on that horrible day, as well in Paris, as in every other part of the kingdom: I should mention at least the ignominious treatment, the fiendlike cruelty, and savage insults these miserable victims suffered from their butchers, whose conduct was a thousand times more terrible than death itself. I have writings still in my hands, which would confirm the report of the court of France having made the most pressing solicitations to the courts of England and Germany, to the Swiss and the Genoese, to refuse an asylum to those Huguenots who might fly from France: but I prefer the honour of the nation to the satisfying a malignant pleasure, which many persons would take in lengthening out a recital, wherein might be found the names of those who were so lost to humanity, as to dip their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and even of their own relations. I would, were it in my power, for ever obliterate the memory of a day that divine vengeance made France groan for, by a continual succession of miseries, blood, and horror, during six and twenty years; for it is impossible to judge otherwise, when one reflects on all that happened from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598. It is even with regret that I cannot omit what happened upon this occasion

L'Amanry. The king pardoned the viscounts of Grammont and Duras, and Gamache and Bouchavannes; the three brothers of the marshal de Montmorency were also spared, through fear that he might afterwards revenge their death. See the historians and other writers, and that fine description of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by M. de Voltaire in his Henriade, Canto second.

to the prince, who is the subject of these Memoirs, and to myself.

Intending on that day to wait upon the king my master, I went to bed early on the preceding evening; about three in the morning I was awakened by the cries of people, and the alarm-bells, which were every where ringing. M. de Saint Julian, my tutor, and my valet, who had also been roused by the noise, ran out of my apartments to learn the cause of it, but never returned, nor did I ever after hear what became of them. Being thus left alone in my room, my landlord, who was a Protestant, urged me to accompany him to mass, in order to save his life, and his house from being pillaged: but I determined to endeavour to escape to the college de Bourgogne, and to effect this, I put on my scholar's gown, and taking a book under my arm, I set out. In the streets I met three parties of the life guards; the first of these, after handling me very roughly, seized my book, and, most fortunately for me, seeing it was a Roman Catholic prayer-book, suffered me to proceed, and this served me as a passport with the two other parties. As I went along I saw the houses broken open and plundered, and men, women, and children butchered, while a constant cry was kept up of, "Kill! Kill! O you Huguenots! O you Huguenots!" This made me very impatient to gain the college, where, through God's assistance, I at length arrived, without suffering any other injury than a most dreadful fright: the porter twice refused me entrance, but at last, by means of a few pieces of money, I prevailed on him to inform M. la Faye, the principal of the college, and my particular friend, that I was at the gate, who, moved with pity, brought me in, though he

was at a loss where to put me, on account of two priests who were in his room, and who said it was determined to put all the Huguenots to death, even the infants at the breast, as was done in the Sicilian vespers. However, my friend conveyed me to a secret apartment, where no one entered except his valet, who brought me food during three successive days, at the end of which the king's proclamation, prohibiting any further plunder or slaughter, was issued: at the same time also, two soldiers of the guard, named Ferrieres and Vieville, dependants of my father, came armed to the college, to inquire after me on the part of my father, who was under great apprehensions for my safety, and from whom, three days after, I received a letter, ordering me to remain in Paris, and there pursue my studies, and the better to do this, he advised me to go to mass, as the king my master had agreed to do, and above all things to follow that prince's fortune, even to death, that no one might reproach me with having left him in his distress.

With respect to the king of Navarre, he, and the prince of Condé, his brother, were awakened about two o'clock in the morning, of St. Bartholomew, by a great number of soldiers, who rushed boldly into a chamber in the Louvre, where they lay, and insolently commanded them to dress themselves, and attend the king. They would not suffer the two princes to take their swords with them; and as they passed along, they beheld several of their gentlemen* massacred before

* James de Segur, baron of Pardaillan, a Gascon; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, a Perigordin, &c. Gaston de Levis, lord of Leyran, took refuge under the queen of Navarre's bed, who saved his life. Some persons were sent to Châtillon, to seize Francis de Châtillon, the admiral's

their eyes. The king waited for them, and received them with a countenance and eyes in which fury was visibly painted: he ordered them with oaths and blasphemies, which were familiar with him, to quit their *fine* religion which they had only taken up, he said, to serve for a cloak to their rebellion. On the princes making some refusal to abjure their religion, the king transported with anger, told them in a fierce and haughty tone, "That he would no longer be contradicted in "his opinions by his subjects; that they, by their ex- "ample, should teach others to revere him as the im- "age of God, and cease to be enemies to the images "of his mother;" and concluded by declaring, that if they did not go to mass, he would treat them as criminals guilty of treason, divine and human. The manner in which these words were pronounced, not suffering the princes to doubt of their sincerity, they yielded to necessity, and acceded to what was required of them. Henry was even obliged to send an edict into his dominions, by which the exercise of any other religion but the Romish was forbid. Though this submission preserved his life, yet in other things he was not better treated; and he suffered a thousand capricious insults from the court; free by intervals, but more often closely confined, and treated as a criminal; his domestics, of which I was always one, sometimes permitted to attend him, then all on a sudden not suffered to come near him.

As for me, I employed this leisure in the most advantageous manner I was able. I had it no longer in

son, and Guy D'Andelot's son: but they both escaped, and fled to Geneva. Armand de Gontault de Biron was saved by fortifying himself in the arsenal.

my choice to prosecute my study of the learned languages, nor of whatever is called learning: this application, which my father had strongly recommended to me, became impracticable from the moment I lived in the court. It was with regret that I parted with an excellent preceptor, to whose care he had intrusted my education; but he himself perceiving he could be no longer useful to me, asked leave to retire. From his hands I passed into those of a man named Chrétien, whom the king of Navarre kept in his train, and who was ordered by him to teach me mathematics and history; two sciences which soon consoled me for those I renounced, because I felt an inclination for them, which I have ever since preserved: the rest of my time was employed in learning to write and read well, and in performing all those exercises which give ease and gracefulness of person. It was in these principles, added to a still greater attention to form the manners, that the method of educating youth consisted, which was known to be peculiar to the king of Navarre, for he himself had been brought up in the same manner; I continued to follow it till I was sixteen years of age, when the situation of affairs throwing both him and me into the tumult of arms, from which we had no hope of being freed, these exercises were succeeded by those which related only to war, and which I began by learning to shoot, and renounced all others. In such circumstances all that a young man can do, is to improve his morals, if he cannot his genius; for even the hurry and confusion of arms offer excellent schools of virtue and politeness to him who is desirous of profiting by them: but miserable, and that during his whole life, is he who engages in a profession so fatal to youth,

without having strength or inclination to resist bad examples: if he should have the good fortune to preserve himself from being tainted with any shameful vice, how will he be able to instruct and fortify his mind in those principles, which wisdom dictates as well to a private man as to a prince, but by making virtue habitual by practice? so that any good action may never become painful, and that, if reduced to a necessity of saving all by a crime, or losing all by a virtuous action, he may find his duty and inclination the same.

It was not long before Charles felt the most violent remorse for the barbarous action to which they had forced him to give the sanction of his name and authority. From the evening of the 24th of August, he was observed to groan involuntarily at the recital of a thousand acts of cruelty, which every one boasted of in his presence. Of all those who were about the person of this prince, none possessed so great a share of his confidence, as Ambrose Paré, his surgeon. This man, though a Huguenot, lived with him in so great a degree of familiarity, that, on the day of the massacre, Charles telling him, the time was now come when he must turn a Catholic, he replied, without being alarmed, "By the light of God, sire, I cannot believe that "you have forgot your promise never to command me "to do four things, namely, to enter into my mother's "womb, to be present in the day of battle, to quit your "service, or to go to mass." The king soon after took him aside, and disclosed to him freely the trouble of his soul: "Ambrose," said he, "I know not what has "happened to me these two or three days past, but I "feel my mind and body as much at enmity with each "other, as if I were seized with a fever: sleeping or

" waking, the murdered Huguenots seem ever present " to my eyes with ghastly faces, and weltering in blood. " I wish the innocent and helpless had been spared." The order which was published the following day, forbidding the continuance of the massacre, was in consequence of this conversation.

The king hoped to retrieve his honour, by publicly disavowing all that had been done. In the letters patent which he sent into the provinces, he threw all upon the Guises, and would have had the massacre pass for an affect of their hatred to the admiral. The private letters he wrote on this subject to England, Germany, Switzerland, and other neighbouring states, were all conceived in the same terms.

There is no doubt but the queen-mother, and her council, convinced the king of the bad consequence of so formal a disavowal; for, eight days after, his sentiments and language were so much changed, that he went to hold his bed of justice in the parliament, and ordered other letters patent to be registered, which declared, that nothing was done on the 24th of August but by his express commands,* and to punish the Huguenots; to each of the leaders of which party, a capital crime was imputed, in order, if possible, to give the

* Nothing is more certain, than that he was seen with a carbine in his hand during the massacre, which, it is said, he fired upon the Calvinists who were flying. The last marshal de Tessé, in his youth, was acquainted with an old man ninety years of age, who had been page to Charles IX, and he often told him, that he himself had loaded that carbine. It is also true, that this prince went with his court to view the body of the admiral, which hung by the feet with a chain of i- to the gallows of Montfaucon; and one of his courtiers observing it smelt ill, Charles replied, as Vitellius had done before him, "The body of a dead enemy always smells well." These two anecdotes I relate from the author of the Henriade, in his notes, p. 32 and 37.

name and colour of justice to that detestable butchery. These letters were addressed to the governors of provinces, with orders to publish them, and pursue the rest of the pretended guilty. I ought here to make honourable mention of the counts de Tende,* and de Charny;† of messieurs de Mandelot,‡ de Gordes,‖ de Saint-Heran,§ and de Carouge,¶ who boldly refused to execute such orders in their governments. The viscount d'Ortez, governor of Baionne,** had resolution enough to answer Charles IX, who wrote to him with his own hand, "That on this point he must not expect any obedience from him."

VI. The number of Protestants massacred, in the course of about eight days, in the different parts of the kingdom, was estimated at seventy thousand: and this cruel blow struck the party with such terror, that, believing itself wholly extinct, nothing was talked of but

* Claude de Savoy, count of Tende, saved the lives of all the Protestants in Dauphiny. When he received the king's letter, by which he was directed to destroy them, he said, that could not be his majesty's order.

† Eleanor de Chabot, count of Charny, lieutenant-general in Burgundy: there was only one Calvinist murdered at Dijon.

‡ Francis de Mandelot, governor of Lyon: he had determined to save the Protestants, nevertheless they were all massacred in the prisons where he had put them for security. He is said, by M. de Thou, to have only feigned ignorance of this barbarity.

‖ Bertrand de Simiane, lord of Gordes, a man in great esteem.

§ N— de S. Heran de Montmorin, governor of Auvergne; he positively refused to obey, unless the king himself was present.

¶ Tanneguy Le-Veneur, governor of Normandy, an honest, humane man; he did all that lay in his power to preserve the Protestants at Rouen, but he was not master of it.

** N— viscount d'Ortez, governor of all that frontier. See his answer to the king. "Sire, I have communicated your majesty's orders to your faithful inhabitants, and to the troops in the garrison; I found there good citizens, and brave soldiers, but not one executioner," &c. De Thou, book lii. and liii. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. &c.

submitting, or flying into foreign countries: but a bold and unlooked for enterprise once more broke this resolution. M. Renier, a gentleman of the reformed religion, having by a kind of miracle escaped the massacre at Paris, and also out of the hands of M. de Vezins,* his most bitter enemy, fled to Montauban, in the neighbourhood of which he lived, accompanied by the viscount de Gourdon, and about fifty horse, with the intention of causing the people of the town to take up arms: they however found the whole of the inhabitants in such consternation, and so dispirited, that, not being able to persuade them even to shut their gates against the troops M. de Montluc† was about to send there to garrison it, they quickly fled to avoid being taken, and repaired to their respective homes: but falling in, before they separated, with about four hundred and fifty of Montluc's men who were marching to Mountauban, and in a place where they must either fight or perish, they summoned all their resolution, and falling upon the enemy, who, not being prepared, were soon put to the route, leaving about one hundred dead, sixty prisoners, and one hundred horses. Renier and Gourdon returned immediately to Montauban, where the inhabitants received them with the greatest joy, and taking courage at the success of their enterprize, flew to arms, and resolved upon defending the town: this, and other means of defence which they resorted to, obliged Montluc to retire. The example of Montauban was

* Here is an error in the Memoirs of Sully; it was Vezins himself, a very good man, but of harsh manners, that saved the life of Renier, whose enemy he had a long time been, and still continued to be, notwithstanding this action. See this remarkable story in M. de Thou, book lii.

† Blaize de Montluc, marshal of France.

followed by about thirty other places: and a great number of gentlemen and soldiers also declaring for the Protestants, they, who were considered as completely destroyed, soon compelled their oppressors, in many instances, to act upon the defensive.

The Catholics now turned all their forces against Rochelle and Sancerre, which, taking advantage of the general terror, they had invested. These enterprises did not succeed. Sancerre, after having suffered all the horrors of a famine, of which history can furnish us with no example, at last concluded a sort of treaty with the besiegers, but Rochelle held out, and baffled all the duke of Anjou's efforts,* who had in person come to besiege it. The election for the throne of Poland happened very opportunely to save the honour of this prince; and by a treaty, in which Nimes and Montauban were comprehended, Rochelle retained all its privileges: these were the only cities which preserved entire all the advantages of the last edicts.

Time also produced other favourable conjunctures for the Calvinists: the queen-mother, of all her children, felt only a true affection for the duke of Anjou; the departure of this prince for Poland, gave her as much grief as it occasioned joy to his two brothers, king Charles and the duke of Alençon; the last of

*The marshal de Montluc, in his Commentaries, finds great fault with the conduct of this siege, saying, that they did not send troops enough, carried on the assaults improperly, hazarded too much, and suffered provisions to be brought into the place by sea; however, he says it would have been taken at last. He advised the queen-mother, from the time she went to Baionne, to take possession of this city: it would have saved France both men and money had this advice been followed. See a relation of the sieges of Rochelle and Sancerre, in D'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. La Popeliniere, book xxxiii. Matthieu, vol. I. p. 340, and other historians.

whom by his brother's removal, becoming duke of Anjou, began to entertain hopes of the crown of France, when he reflected that Charles had no children, and that his weak state of health was changed into a mortal disease. The opposition he thought there was reason to apprehend the queen-mother would give to his design, wholly alienated his affections from her. This princess, by bestowing her confidence on a small number of foreigners of mean birth, who governed her finances, had made the greatest part of the nobility almost as discontented as the duke of Alençon: he privately fomented this revolt, and persuaded them to apply to the Protestants for assistance, in whose disgrace they partook. To ward off this blow, and at once to gratify the duke of Anjou, and her tenderness for the king of Poland, she began from that moment to think in earnest of marrying the first of these princes to the queen of England, and of procuring for him the sovereignty of the Low Countries: but his discontent had already produced its effect.

Charles, through another motive, joined in his brother's resentment against the queen their mother. The disease with which he found himself attacked, began at Vitry, whither he had accompanied the king of Poland, under pretence of doing him honour, but in reality to enjoy the pleasure of seeing him quit his kingdom. The condition to which he soon found himself reduced, raised in his mind a thousand suspicions against Catherine; so that, uniting his interest with that of the Protestants, he began to show them a great deal of favour. This principally appeared in his permitting them, notwithstanding the opposition made by the queen-mother, to send deputies to court, to de-

clare their grievances, and state their demands. These deputies, meeting with others, who came from the Catholic provinces which had been prevailed upon by the discontented lords to require the abolition of certain new taxes, and a diminution for ten years of the old, they joined each other. The memorial indeed which contained their demands was signed only by four or five gentlemen, but the terms in which it was conceived, showed the most immoveable steadiness in a party that seemed to derive new strength even from its losses. The queen-mother was violently enraged at it; but the king not suffering her to exert any authority upon this occasion, all she could do was to make use of delays till the death of this prince, which she foresaw was not far distant. The Protestants penetrated into her designs; and, that they might be before hand with her, appeared suddenly in arms: this was called the insurrection of Shrove Tuesday, because they possessed themselves of several towns on that day.* Montgomery† returned from England to Normandy, where he fortified himself. The queen-mother, and the whole court, were then at St. Germain-en-Laye; she was resolved, at least, to take such measures, that the princes should not escape; but the attempts which were every day made to get them out of her power, did not a little embarrass her. Guitry‡ and Buhy came one day to

* Fontenay, Lusignon, Melle, Pons, Tonne-Charente, Talmont, Rochefort, Oriol, Livron, Orange, and other places in Poitou, Languedoc, Dauphiny, &c.

† Gabriel, count of Montgomery, the same that wounded Henry the Second.

‡ John de Chaumont, marquis of Quitry or Guitry: Peter de Mornay, lord of Buhy, brother of Du-Plessis-Mornay. See an account of this enterprise in the life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, book i. p. 26.

St. Germain to carry them away by force; but every thing not being properly concerted, they failed in their design; it however created so great an alarm, that Catherine fled with the princes to Paris, where she beheaded Coconnas* and La-Mole, the contrivers of the plot, and imprisoned the marshals de Montmorency and de Cossé. She afterwards placed guards about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou, and sent soldiers to Amiens to arrest the prince of Condé, who was there strictly watched, and bring him to Paris; but that prince was informed of it, and disguising himself, deluded his spies, and happily escaped into Germany, where he was honourably received, with promise of assistance, by the Protestant princes, and shortly after declared chief of all the Protestants in France.

The queen-mother now resolved to send all her forces against the Huguenots immediately. They were divided into three armies: Matignon† led the first into Normandy, where Montgomery, having only two or three‡ inconsiderable forts in his possession, was soon

* Joseph Boniface de-la-Mole; Hanibal, count of Coconnas, a Piedmontese. "La-Mole and Coconnas were beloved by two great princesses "(the queen of Navarre, and the dutchess of Nevers); love and jealousy "brought them both to destruction." Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 75.

† James de Matignon, marshal of France: he died in the year 1597. This nobleman, for his great qualities, deserves all the praises which M. de Thou has bestowed on him, particularly for his inviolable attachment to the person of his king, a virtue in those times very uncommon.—De Thou, book lxvi.

‡ These were Carentan, Valogne, Saint-Lo, and Donfront. In this last he was taken fighting like a man in despair. D'Aubigné who was himself a zealous Protestant, cannot certainly be suspected of partiality upon this question relating to the promise given to the count by the marshal: "The place," says he, "was taken, and life was promised to all but the count, to "whom artful assurances were given, that he should not be delivered into "any other hands than the king's. This I am convinced of, notwithstand-

defeated, and obliged to deliver himself up to this marshal, who carried him to Paris, where he was beheaded. The second, commanded by the duke de Montpensier,* went to invest Fontenay, and afterwards Lusignan, which he took, notwithstanding the bravery with which the viscount de Rohan defended it. The prince† Dauphin, who commanded the third, also took some small places in Dauphiny; but having sat down before Livron, he shamefully raised the siege. Every thing was suspended on account of the king's death, which happened this year, on Pentecost-day, at the castle of Vincennes; he expired in the most exquisite torments, and bathed in his own blood;‡ the cruel massacre on St. Bartholomew's day was always in his mind; and he continued to the last, by his tears and agonies, to show the grief and remorse he felt for it.§

" ing the contrary has been written. France is guilty of but too many " perjuries, there is no occasion to invent any to charge her with," &c. vol. II. book ii. chap. 7. Montgomery submitted to his fate like a hero. De Thou, Brantome, &c.

* Francis of Bourbon. This branch of Montpensier descended from a Lewis of Bourbon, second son of John II, of Bourbon.

† Francis of Bourbon, son to the duke of Montpensier, bore this title. Memoirs of Brantome, vol. III. p. 301.

‡ Perefixe says, that when Charles was on his death bed, he sent for the king of Navarre, in whom alone he had found faith and honour, and in a very affectionate manner, recommended to him his wife and sister. The queen-mother, he adds, on hearing he had sent for Henry, and fearing he might appoint him regent, endeavoured to terrify the latter, and for that purpose, when he was conducted to the king, she ordered him to be led through the vaults, which were purposely lined with guards drawn up in menacing attitudes: Henry shook with fear, and drew back a few paces; when Nancay-la-Chastre, the captain of the guard, encouraged him to go on, swearing that no harm should be done to him; and then, though he placed no great reliance on his word, he was obliged to pass between the musquets and halberds.

§ A little before he expired, he said he was glad he had left no children, who would have been too young to govern the state in such difficult times.

The cardinal of Lorrain* died also this year in the pope's territories, on the 23d of December, a day made remarkable by the most terrible storm ever known.

The king of Poland was informed of his brother's death in thirteen days, and the night after the news was brought him, he stole from his Polish attendants, and fled out of the country. In his journey he visited the emperor Maximilian, Charles duke of Savoy, and the duke and senate of Venice:† all these gave him advice equally wise and conformable to his interests, which was, to grant the Protestants peace, and the free exercise of their religion; but, instead of complying with it, he immediately upon his arrival in France, broke the truce that had been granted them for three months, and changed it, at the solicitations of the queen-mother, into a declaration of war against the whole party, to which a great number of Catholics had

Montluc, de Thou, and almost all the historians agree in saying, that if he had lived he would have been a very great prince. He possessed, and in a great degree, courage, prudence, eloquence, economy, and sobriety: he loved polite literature, and learned men; but he was choleric, and a great swearer. He was but twenty-five years of age when he died. Many contusions were found in his body. (De Thou.) However, there were no proofs found of his having been poisoned, as the author of the Legend of Claude duke of Guise says he was. His death proceeded from violent exercises, to which he was very much addicted, and a great quantity of bile, that often made his eyes look quite yellow. His stature was tall, but he was not straight, his shoulders were bent, his legs thin and weak, his complexion pale, his eyes ghastly; and his countenance fierce. See F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. and the life of this prince written in Latin by Papire Masson.

* Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, archbishop of Rheims. See his character in the third book of Brantome's Memoirs. "He died," says that writer, "at Avignon, by poison, if we may give credit to the Legend of St. Nicaise, p. 138;" and most piously, according to Matthieu, who wrote his eulogium, vol. I. book vii. p. 407.

† The reader may consult Matthieu, vol. I. upon the departure of Henry III of Poland, and the particulars of his journey.

lately joined themselves, out of affection to the marshal de Damville,* who had been disgusted by the imprisonment of his brother.

The king went in person to lay siege a second time to Livron, which he was likewise obliged to raise, and brought nothing away with him, but the shame of finding himself insulted from the top of the walls by the women, and even children, and hearing the most satirical and bitter reflections on the queen his mother. From this time he always appeared so different from what he had been when duke of Anjou that it may be said with reason, his shameful flight to Avignon was at once the æra of his ignominy, his kingdom's misfortunes, and his own. In his journey to Rheims, whither he went immediately after to be consecrated, he conceived a passion for one of the daughters of the count de Vaudemont,† and married her.

It was fortunate for him, that the duke of Anjou was all this time closely confined; but after Henry's coronation, this prince, who again quitted his title to take that of Monsieur, enjoyed, as well as the king of Navarre, a little more liberty, which was increased or lessened according to the reports that were brought of their correspondence with the enemies of the queen-mother.‡ One of Catherine's other cares was to cause

* Henry de Montmorency, duke of Damville, second son of the constable Anne de Montmorency.

† Louisa of Lorrain, daughter of Nicholas, duke of Mercœur, count of Vaudemont, and Margaret of Egmond, his first wife. Matthieu gives this princess great praises for her virtue, and affection to her husband. Vol. II. book iii. p. 438.

‡ Henry III hated Monsieur, on account of his having, as he supposed, attempted to poison him. He endeavoured to persuade the king of Navarre to kill this prince, but was refused with horror. Henry III being ill

a rupture between these two princes; which she effected, by promising each of them separately the post of lieutenant-general of the French armies, and by making use of such means as seldom fail to succeed, intrigues of gallantry, and competitions in love; but, notwithstanding all her arts, Monsieur at last escaped: he deceived his guards, and fled in disguise on the evening of the 17th of September, to Dreux, where he was soon joined by a great many of the nobility who were disgusted with the ill-treatment they had received from the king and his ministers. The prince of Condé had in the mean time laboured so effectually in Germany, that prince Casimir was soon in a condition to enter France with a strong army.

Catherine had now recourse to other stratagems; she endeavoured to regain Monsieur by the most specious offers, and pursued him from city to city, always attended by a train of young and beautiful ladies, on whom she relied still more. In a word,* she succeeded so well, that he fell at last into the snare she laid for him.

The king of Navarre, who had given credit to her promise of making him lieutenant-general, now thought himself secure of it, and rejoiced at first that he had got rid of Monsieur, whom he always looked upon as his rival; but the ladies de Carnavelet and de Sauves

with a disorder in his ear, the king of Navarre one day said to the duke of Guise, whom he loved, "Our man is very ill." The duke answered the first time, "It will be nothing;" the second, "We must think of it;" and the third he said to him, "I understand you, sir;" and striking the hilt of his sword, "This," added he, "is at your service." Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 418.

* They conferred together at Champigny-sur-Vade, a house belonging to the duke of Montpensier, upon the confines of Touraine.

undeceived him; they informed him that the court had resolved to give this great employment to Monsieur, as a means of bringing him back to court, where they intended to seize his person as soon as he should arrive. This opened Henry's eyes, and he now wholly applied himself to the recovery of his liberty; the means for which were offered him one day in the month of February, when he was hunting near Senlis:* his guards being dispersed, he instantly passed the Seine at Poissy, gained Chateau-Neuf in Timerais, which belonged to him, where he took up some money of his farmers, and, followed only by thirty horse, arrived at Alençon, which the lord de Hertra had seized in his name. There he had a conference with Monsieur and the prince of Condé, and they agreed to unite all their forces. From Alençon the king of Navarre went to Tours; where he no sooner arrived, than he publicly resumed the exercise of the Protestant religion. I was one of those who accompanied this prince in his flight, and during his whole journey.

The three princes, after uniting their troops, found themselves at the head of fifty thousand† effective men, and made Catherine tremble in her turn. A bloody war was now expected; I entered into the infantry, in the character of a volunteer, till an employment more suitable was given me. I made my first essay in arms in the neighbourhood of Tours, where several skirmishes happened between detachments from the different parties. The king of Navarre hearing that my behaviour had more of rashness than courage in

* See an account of this in D'Aubigné, vol. II. ch. xviii. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. page 420, &c.

† According to others, 30,000 only.

it, ordered me to be called, and said to me, "Rosny, it is not here that I would have you hazard your life; I admire your valour, but I desire you should employ it on a better occasion." This occasion was not so near as we believed, for Catherine, finding herself deficient in strength, had recourse to her usual artifices. She talked of peace; she offered more than we thought we could demand: promises cost this artful princess nothing. In a word, she had address enough to make the princes lay down their arms, and peace was concluded upon, and signed three months after: this was called *Monsieur's peace,** for besides that Catherine's principal view in making it was to gain this prince, he was so much the dupe of her artifices that at last he wished for it, and solicited it more warmly than any other person. It must be confessed it was a very advantageous one: however, the princes never committed a more irreparable fault than when they signed it.

To this Monsieur added a second error as considerable against his own interest: he separated from the Protestants,† and by that means lost opportunities both in France and England, of becoming one of the most powerful princes perhaps in Europe. Thus all

* By the edict of sixty-three articles, passed at the convent of Beaulieu near Loches in Touraine, between the queen-mother and the princes, the memory of the admiral de Coligny and the other Protestant chiefs were restored, chambers of justice, composed equally of Protestants and Catholics, were granted in the principal parliaments, and several cities given for security. Monsieur procured also a large appendage for himself, and a considerable sum in money and jewels for prince Casimir. De Thou, D'Aubigné, &c.

† In reality, Monsieur, on this occasion, sacrificed the king of Navarre and the Huguenots to his interests, or his politics. In the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 90. and following, may be seen all the steps taken by each party on occasion of this treaty.

things fell out agreeable to the queen-mother's wishes, who in making this peace, had nothing in view but the disunion of her enemies.

After the conclusion of the peace, and while the king was at Tours, he sent me with Fervaques* to court to demand his sister,† who, the second day after our quitting Paris, declared herself of the reformed religion, and I accompanied her to the Protestant church at Chateau-dun, with many others who had changed during the massacre. The king waited for his sister at Parthenay, from whence they went to Rochelle, the inhabitants of which, except that they offered him no canopy, paid him all the honours they could have done to the king; but the Catholics in his train did not meet with so favourable a reception: Caumont, afterwards duke d'Epernon,‡ was not suffered to enter the city, nor any other, whom they could prove had embrued his sword in the bloody slaughter of the 24th of August.

VII. The king of Navarre staid but a short time in Rochelle: for, notwithstanding the fair promises which had been made to him and the prince of Condé to fulfil the terms of the peace with regard to their authority in Guinenne and Picardy, they had no sooner disbanded their troops and dismissed the foreign auxiliaries, than they found that Monsieur had been gained over, and had become one of their greatest enemies: this, the non-execution of the edict, and the ill-treatment which

* William de Hautemer, count of Grancy, lord of Fervaques, &c. marshal of France, and lieutenant-general of Normandy. He died in the year 1613, aged seventy-five.

† Madame Catherine de Bourbon, afterwards dutchess of Bar.

‡ John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon. He will be mentioned hereafter.

the Huguenots every where experienced, compelled them again to take up arms towards the close of the year. At this time, M. de Lavardin,* my kinsman, who had a great affection for me, presented me with a pair of colours in the regiment he commanded, and I was appointed to defend Périgueux, and afterwards Villeneuve in Agenois, when threatened with a siege. The king of Navarre had a design to undertake some considerable enterprizes, but the greater part of the gentlemen on whom he had relied for the supply of fresh troops disappointed him, and the few which were raised were so bad, that there were only two places which could be attacked with any prospect of success: the first was Réole, which Favas† carried by escalade, when I mounted among the foremost with about fifty of my company: the other was Macary, the attack on which was made by Langoiran; but here we failed through treachery; for the people were so well informed of the design, that the whole of the first troop which entered, were either killed or taken; and if Favas, who led the second troop, had not kept me and young Bethune with him, we should have shared the same fate, as we had several times entreated him to allow us to accompany the first assailants.

At the siege of Ville-Franche in Périgord, which was afterwards carried on by Lavardin, I was exposed to a more considerable danger. During the assault, having mounted the wall with my colours, I was overthrown by the pikes and halberts into the ditch, where I lay sunk in the mud, and so entangled with my co-

* John de Beaumanoir de Lavardin or Laverdin, marshal of France.

† John Favas, called captain Favas.

lours, that had it not been for the assistance of La Trape, my valet, and some soldiers, who drew me out, I must infallibly have perished. The city being forced while they were parlying on the walls, it was given up to pillage. I gained a purse of a thousand crowns in gold for my share, which an old, man who was pursued by five or six soldiers, gave me to save his life. The name of Ville-Franche recalls to my memory a very singular adventure which happened some time before: the inhabitants of this town having formed the design of seizing upon Montpazier,* another little neighbouring town, by surprize, they chose for the execution of it the very same night which the citizens of Montpazier had, without knowing any thing of the matter, pitched upon to make themselves masters of Ville-Franche. Chance ordered it so that the parties taking different ways, did not meet: all was executed with so much the less difficulty, as the walls of both towns were wholly without defence. They pillaged, they glutted themselves with booty: each thought himself happy till day appeared, and discovered the mistake: they then came to a composition, every thing was restored to its right owner, and they returned to their respective habitations. Such was the manner of making war in those times: it consisted of siezing by artifice the towns and castles of the enemy, though often those attempts produced very bloody engagements.

Soon after the above mentioned occurrences, great dissentions arose in the king of Navarre's court: his army was almost equally composed of Protestants and Catholics, and he often said, that his obligations were

* A town in Périgord, upon the confines of Quercy.

greatest to the last, for they served him disinterestedly, and through pure attachment to his person: but it was this medley of Catholics and Protestants which injured his affairs. Messieurs de Turenne, de Montgomery, de Guitry, de Lusignan,* de Favas, de Pardaillan, and other principal Protestants, had an invincible aversion to messieurs de Lavardin, de Miossens,† de Grammont, de Duras, de St. Colombe, de Roquelaure, de Bogole, de Podins, and other Catholic officers. This appeared, amongst other occasions, in an affair where I was concerned: an officer named Frontenac‡ having treated me contemptuously on account of my youth, added, that if one were to wring my nose, milk would flow out: I replied, that I found myself strong enough to draw blood from his with my sword. This quarrel made some noise: and what was very extraordinary, though my antagonist was a Catholic, and myself a Protestant, yet the viscount de Turenne§ promised him his assistance, and that of his Protestant friends against me: which M. de Lavardin being informed of, he and his Catholic friends offered me their services. The viscount's hatred to me proceeded from my having taken Langoiran's part (to whom I was obliged) in a quarrel he had with that nobleman. M. de Turenne expected, that wherever he and Langoiran were together, the latter should receive orders from him as his general. Langoiran, who thought his birth equal to Turenne's, made a jest of his pretensions; and adding some strokes of raillery, spoke of Turenne as a bigot, who came

* Lewis de Lusignan of St. Gelais.

† Henry D'Albert, baron of Miossens.

‡ Anthony de Buade de Frontenac.

§ Henry de la Tour, viscount de Turenne, afterwards duke de Bouillon.

over to the reformed, only because Bussy* had supplanted him in Monsieur's favour. When the quarrel was composed, my relations and friends advised me to seek the friendship of Turenne: I complied, but he received my first advances so coolly, that I drew back, and we continued at a greater distance than ever.

During these dissensions in the king's councils, the siege of Marmande† was obstinately determined upon, contrary to the opinion of Henry and La Noue, as the place was too strong and too well garrisoned for so ill-conditioned an army as the king's was. M. de Lavardin, colonel of the infantry, having been ordered to make approaches, he sent me (as being his ensign) and others, with a hundred harquebusiers each, to occupy the houses and hollow ways which lay about two hundred paces from the city towards the river; but we were so warmly received by three times our numbers from the town, that after a very severe skirmish, we were all obliged to retire with loss, and, instead of assailing, to defend ourselves in some houses at a great distance, till the king with the cavalry and infantry, came up, when the enemy was compelled after some brisk charges (one of which the king made, armed only with a cuirass) to retire to the counterscarp of the ditch, which enabled us to entrench ourselves in the places assigned to us; but they were of little use, as we had not men enough to invest the city on all sides; and the king of Navarre would have had the mortification of

* Lewis de Clermont de Bussy-d'Amboise, celebrated for his valour, and personal accomplishments. In an assignation he had some time after with the lady de Montsoreau, he was killed by her husband and his domestics.

† In Agenois, upon the Garone.

not being able to approach it, and of being under a necessity of shamefully raising the siege, had not the arrival of the marshal de Biron, with proposals for an accommodation, furnished him with an honourable pretence for withdrawing his troops.

A truce only could be agreed upon, during which the king of Navarre went to Bearn, to visit the princess his sister, or rather, as it was thought, the young Tignonville,* with whom he was in love. I was permitted to accompany him; and giving back my ensign's commission to M. de Lavardin, who bestowed it upon young Bethune, my cousin, I quitted my warlike equipage, and took one more suitable to the character I was to appear in. My economy during three or four years, joined to my military profits, made my finances so considerable, that I now found myself in a condition to entertain several gentlemen in my pay, with whom I attached myself solely to the person of the king. As I had no inclination to descend from this station, I regulated my domestic affairs in such a manner, that the king of Navarre, who was always attentive to the conduct of his officers, confessed to me afterwards, that I owed the greatest part of that esteem with which he honoured me, to the prudent economy he observed in this disposition of my affairs. It was my youth only that made this conduct appear extraordinary, for I began early to be sensible of what advantage it is, to observe an exact regularity in domestic concerns. Such a propensity, in my opinion, is a very happy presage, either for a soldier or a statesman.

* This young lady was daughter to madam de Tignonville, governess to Madame, the king of Navarre's sister, who, in the court of Navarre, was generally called mademoiselle Navarre. Mademoiselle Tignonville was afterwards married to the baron of Pangeas.

During our stay at Bearn, nothing was thought of but diversions and gallantry; the taste which Madame, the king's sister, had for amusements, proved an inexhaustible source of them to us. Of this princess I learned the trade of a courtier, which I was yet unacquainted with. She had the goodness to make me one in all her parties: and I remember, she took the trouble herself to teach me the steps of a dance in a ballet that was to be performed, and which I in fact danced eight days afterwards before the king.

The truce was now almost expired, and the king of Navarre, on his return from Bearn, being informed that the city Eause,* excited by the mutineers, had refused to give entrance to a garrison he sent thither, ordered us to come, with our arms concealed under our hunting habits, to a certain part of the country, where he himself waited for us. He arrived at the gates of the city before they could be informed of his march, and entered it, without meeting with any resistance, at the head of fifteen or sixteen of his men, who had followed him closer than the rest of his troop. As soon as the mutineers perceived this, they called out to the centinel at the gate to cut the ropes of the port-cullis, which was accordingly done, and it fell almost upon the buttocks of my horse and Bethune's, so that we were separated from the rest of the troop, which remained without the city. The rebels at the same time rung the alarm-bell, and arming hastily, a band of fifty soldiers came thundering upon us: among these we distinguished three or four voices, which cried, "Fire upon that scarlet cloak, and white plume, for

* A city of Armagnac.

" it is the king of Navarre." The king turning towards us, exclaimed, " my friends and companions, you must " here shew your courage and resolution, for our safety " depends upon what we shall now do: follow me, " therefore, and do as I do, without firing your pistols." As he concluded these words, he galloped boldly up to the mutineers with his pistol in his hand: they could not sustain the shock, and were soon dispersed: three or four small bodies of men presented themselves afterwards, and these also we drove before us: but the enemy rallying again, to the number of two hundred, and our forces being greatly diminished, the danger became inevitable. The king retired to one of the gates, which two of us ascended, and made a signal to our companions, who continued in the field, to advance and force the gate: which they performed with the more ease, as very fortunately the draw-bridge had not been raised. By this time, those citizens who were well affected to the king, but had been forced by the seditious into their measures, perceiving the soldiers upon the point of entering the city, attacked the rebels, who defended themselves till the gate was forced, and the city filled with our troops. All would have been put to the sword, and even the city abandoned to pillage, had not the principal inhabitants, with their magistrates at their head, thrown themselves at the king's feet, and implored his pardon, which he granted, and contented himself with punishing only those four persons who had fired upon the white plume.

The king of Navarre, leaving* Bethune governor of Eause, went to Nerac, where he was informed that

* See all these little military expeditions in d'Aubigné, book ii.

St. Criq, a Catholic gentleman of his party, had possessed himself of Mirande;* but that not having men enough to keep it, he had been obliged to throw himself, with his troops, into a tower near the walls, where he was resolved to defend himself till he received assistance, which he earnestly solicited: the king, on hearing this, immediately set off, and sent to the neighbouring garrisons to follow, and meet him, at a certain point which he named; when these had joined, he marched directly to Mirande; but it happened that on the alarm of the capture of the place, all the Catholic troops in the neighbourhood had thrown themselves into it, and attacked the tower with such fury, that before the king could arrive they had forced it, and burnt St. Criq and all his men. The inhabitants, who thought to draw the king also into their power, artfully concealed what had happened, and as soon as he appeared before the town, made the trumpets sound, as if St. Criq was rejoicing for the assistance they brought him, when a Huguenot soldier who had married a Catholic in the place, perceiving the danger to which the king was exposed, together with all his men, who must infallibly have perished, through the great superiority of the enemy's numbers, threw himself over the wall, to inform him of the snare that was laid for him. The king now thought of nothing but retreating; but as he was very far advanced, the inhabitants of Mirande soon perceived that their design was frustrated, and sallying out, attacked him in his retreat. Myself and young Bethune having engaged too far amidst the enemy, were surrounded on all sides: despair added to

* A city in the county of Armagnac.

our strength, and we fought like men who were resolved to sell their lives dear; but we should certainly have been overpowered, extreme fatigue making it hardly possible for us to use our arms any longer, when happily for us, Lesignan, and the elder Bethune, whom the king of Navarre had sent to our assistance, charged the enemy so fiercely, that they gave back, and afforded us the means of retreating.

The king of Navarre, seeing night approach, gave orders to cease fighting, and retired to Jegun; where, two or three days after, the royal troops, with the marshal de Villars at their head, appeared in arms, drawn thither by the report of the attempt upon Mirande. It would have been rashness to attack them, we therefore kept firmly entrenched, and sought only to engage them to force us; but this they durst not attempt. The two armies continued in view of each other till night: a combat of six against six was proposed by Lavardin and La Devese; but we not being able to agree amongst ourselves about the choice of the combatants, both the king and the marquis de Villars towards night drew off their respective troops.

Some time after, the king of Navarre going from Leictoure to Montauban, commanded the count de Meilles* and me, with five and twenty horse, to fall on a body of musketiers, which the inhabitants of Beaumont† had posted in the vineyards and hollow places in our rout. We engaged, and drove them almost to the city gates, from whence about an hundred soldiers came out to their assistance; part of these we left dead upon the place, and the rest were drowned in the

* Frederick de Foix de Candalle.

† Beaumont de Lomagne in Armagnac.

ditches: the garrison within seeing this, and fearing that we would enter pell-mell with the fugitives, drew up the draw-bridge, and the king observing all the curtains were filled with harquebusiers, did not think proper to pursue this advantage, and continued his journey.

At his return, he endeavoured to avoid passing under the walls of this city, and took a lower road, by a place, which, if I remember right, was called St. Nicholas,* near Mas de Verdun. Scarce had we marched a league, when we heard the beating of drums, and discovered a party of three hundred musketiers marching on the road from Beaumont to Florence, in very indifferent order, under five ensigns. A council was immediately held; some were of opinion that we should attack the enemy, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers; others disapproved this. The king of Navarre, who wanted only to try them, ordered fifty horse to advance, and in the mean time we drew up in a line, with our domestics behind us, and presented a front to the enemy, which concealed the smallness of our numbers. The shining of our armour contributed to deceive them: they fled across the woods, to a small town named Cassaux, which they thought to barricade; but we pursued them so closely, that not having time to do this, they threw themselves into a large church outside the town, which was well furnished with provisions, it being the accustomed retreat of the peasants. The king of Navarre determined to force it, and sent to Montauban, Leictoure, and other neighbouring towns, for workmen and sol-

* St. Nicholas de la Grave. Mas de Verdun, or Mas Garnier, a city of Armagnac.

diers for that purpose, not doubting but Beaumont, Mirande, and other towns of the Catholic party, would send powerful succours to the besieged, if they were not prevented. In the mean time we endeavoured, with the assistance of our servants, to undermine the church. The choir was allotted to me; and though the wall was of great thickness, and built of very hard stone, yet in the course of twelve hours I made an opening in it, through which I ordered several grenades to be thrown, which wounded many of those within; I next ordered a scaffold to be raised against the opening, from which the soldiers fired into the body of the church. The besieged had no water, and were obliged to temper their meal with wine; but what incommoded them still more, they had neither surgeons, linen, nor salves to dress their wounds. A powerful reinforcement being sent from Montauban to the king of Navarre, they surrendered at discretion, and he contented himself with only ordering seven or eight persons to be hanged who were accused of having acted with great cruelty towards the Protestants, and particularly to six women, whom, after violating, they put to death in a most barbarous manner; but he was obliged to abandon the whole to the fury of the inhabitants of Montauban, who forced them out of our hands, and butchered them without mercy.

After these events the king retired to Nerac, where he was visited by the archbishop of Vienne,* and the

* The three deputies whom the states sent to the king of Navarre were Peter de Villars, archbishop of Vienne, for the clergy; Andrew of Bourbon, lord of Rubenpré, for the nobility; and Menager, general of the finances of Touraine, for the third estate. Here is therefore an error in these Memoirs: consult De Thou, D'Aubigné, &c. See also an account

dukes of Montpensier and Richlieu, deputies from the king and the states of Blois. The king sent Bethune and me as far as Bergerac, to receive them. They were commissioned to exhort him to embrace the Catholic religion, which the states had declared should be maintained throughout the kingdom. This interview, which had produced a suspension of arms, having had no other effect, the deputies returned, and hostilities again began.

Immediately after this interview, admiral de Villars* assembled his army to besiege Castel-Jaloux,† but learning that the place had been reinforced, he changed his design, and a short time after, having gained over some persons in Nerac‡ (as he afterwards boasted), he appeared before it with all his army; but his partisans not having laid their plans well, he had no success; there was however some very severe skirmishing, in which the king himself, at the head of a troop, charged a body of the enemy's cavalry and put them to the route. It was not in our power, by the most earnest intreaties, to make him take more care of his life: and his example animating us in our turn, twelve or fifteen of us were bold enough to advance within pistol shot of the whole Catholic army. The king of Navarre, who observed us, said to Bethune, "Go to your cousin, the baron of Rosny, he is "rash and heedless to the last degree: bring him and

of the session of the states of Blois, in Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 438, and in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 166, and following.

* Honorat of Savoy, marquis of Villars. Although he was made admiral by the king during the admiral de Coligny's life, he did not in reality exercise that employment till after the death of that nobleman.

† Castel-Jaloux, or Castel-Geloux, near Auch.

‡ In Guienne, the capital of the dutchy of Albret.

"his companions off: for the enemy seeing us retire, "will no doubt charge us so fiercely, that they will be "either all taken or killed." I obeyed this order, and the prince perceiving my horse wounded in the shoulder, reproached me for my temerity, in a manner, however, wholly obliging. He proposed this day a combat of four against four: but it did not take place, the admiral having given the signal for retreating.

About this time the duke of Maienne* entered Poictou with an army, and laid siege to Brouage,† the garrison of which being hard pressed, sent repeatedly to the king of Navarre for speedy succours: he accordingly ordered his troops together from all parts and marched to Bergerac, Montguion, and Pons,‡ where he found the prince de Condé, M. de la Rochefoucault, and others, having left the viscount Turenne to follow with the infantry: but a misunderstanding arose here between the king and the prince of Condé, in which Turenne took so conspicuous a part, that the prince challenged him: this, and his delay in bringing up the infantry, lost Brouage, which surrendered by capitulation before the king could relieve it.

The peace of 1577, which soon followed these unfavourable events, was the sole work of Henry III, who was desirous of giving this mortification to the Guises. War was no longer agreeable, either to his inclinations, which led him to a strange kind of life, divided between devotion and sensuality,§ or to his de-

* Charles de Lorrain, duke of Maienne, second son of Francis of Lorrain, duke of Guise. He was general of the league.

† A city and port in Saintonge.

‡ In Saintonge.

§ "There is nothing," said Sixtus V, to cardinal de Joyeuse, "which "your king has not done, and does, to be a monk; nor, nothing which I

signs, which tended only to the crushing of the princes of Lorrain, now grown too powerful by the league. But although this peace* was less advantageous to the Huguenots than that of Monsieur, yet they observed the articles of it with more fidelity than the Catholics: for the king of Navarre had no sooner quitted Agen and the neighbourhood of Villeneuve,† than the marshal de Biron seized those two places, for which it was impossible to obtain satisfaction. The consequence of a peace so very ill observed, was an inactivity full of distrust: which rather resembled a long suspension of arms, than a real peace. In this manner passed the remainder of this year, and part of the following.

Whether it was, that the queen-mother was desirous of labouring effectually to compose the troubles of the state, or that she had secret designs which obliged her to gain, if possible, the king of Navarre, she quitted Paris with all her court, and making the tour of the provinces, had a conference with this prince at Réole, from whence the two courts went together to Auch. She even staid with him a long while, at different times,

"have not done to avoid being one." He had no less than a hundred and fifty valets de chambre, *ministros cubicularios*, says Busbeq, Ep. 31.

* By the treaty which was concluded at Bergerac, between the king of Navarre, and the marshal de Biron, and the edict that followed in the latter end of September, the number of churches was diminished, the exercise of the reformed religion was prohibited ten leagues round Paris, the burying places of the Calvinists in that city were taken away, the liberty of marriages revoked, and the chambers composed of half Catholics and half Protestants, suppressed in Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, &c. King Henry III, called this his treaty. Neither party observed it faithfully: the Catholics complained that several articles were infringed by the Calvinists. Memoirs of Nevers.

† Villeneuve in Agenois, upon the Lot.

either at Nerac,* Courtras, Fleix,† or other places; for the year 1578, and part of 1579, was wholly consumed in journeys from one place to another, and reciprocal complaints of the bad execution of treaties, which indeed both parties did not scruple to violate.

The mixture of two courts, equally remarkable for gallantry, produced such an effect as might have been expected. Nothing was seen but balls, festivals, and polite entertainments; but while love became the serious business of the courtiers, Catherine was wholly absorbed in politics: for once, however, she did not succeed. She indeed reconciled the king of Navarre to his queen, then greatly disgusted with the proceedings of her brother, Henry III, towards her; but she could not draw the king again to Paris, nor prevail upon him to resign to her those places of security, to obtain which had been her principal object.

I should swell these memoirs too much, were I to enter into a detail of this medley of politics and gallantry; and to confess the truth, my youth, and other affairs more suitable to my inclinations, did not permit me to engage in the first: as for gallantry, besides that I have lost the remembrance of it, a trifling detail of intrigues would, in my opinion, make a very indifferent figure here. It is sufficient to say, that all was reduced to a desire of pleasing, and supplanting each other: I shall not, however, omit some military enterprises.

* "At Nerac," says Le Grain, "the queen-mother had several conferences with the king of Navarre, her son-in-law, in which some articles were explained, but not all; for the good lady would always keep her Spanish gennet by the bridle as much as she was able." It was here that Henry IV fell in love with the two ladies, D'Agelle and Tosseuse.

† Fleix in Perigord.

Whilst negociations were carrying on for a solid peace, a sort of truce was agreed to, but which was to extend only a league and a half beyond the residence of the two courts wherever they might reside; the reason of this was, that the queen-mother was determined either to conclude a peace, or to remove all hopes of it, which a general truce would still have cherished. In consequence of such an arrangement, wherever the courts were, nothing was seen or heard but peace, love, balls, and every other kind of amusement, while beyond the prescribed limits there was continually fighting and taking of prisoners whenever the opposite parties fell in with each other.

During this state of things, when the two courts were at Auch, one night, in the midst of a ball which was given, a gentleman, sent by Favas, came and informed the king of Navarre that Usac, the governor of Réole, who was an old man, and always considered a most zealous Protestant, had been persuaded by one of the queen-mother's maids of honour, of whom he was passionately enamoured, to turn Catholic and deliver the place up to the queen.* As soon as the king learned this, he withdrew unperceived from the midst of the company, accompanied by three or four of us, whom he ordered to assemble, as secretly as possible, all his attendants whose apartments we were acquainted with, "for," continued he, "in an hour I shall be "on horseback outside the town, with my cuirass under "my hunting-dress, and let all those who love me, and "wish to acquire honour, meet me there." Every thing was done as he had commanded, and with such

* See Perefixe, Life of Hen. IV.

success, that the next morning, at the opening of the gates, we were before Fleurance, and the inhabitants suspecting nothing, on account of the peace, the king made himself master of the town without any opposition. The queen-mother, who could have sworn that the king of Navarre had lain at Auch, was greatly surprised next morning with the news of this expedition; however, she was the first to laugh at it. "I see," said she, "this is in revenge for Réole: the king of "Navarre was resolved to have nut for nut, but mine "has the better kernel."

This affair separated the two courts for a few days; but a sort of accommodation taking place, they both went to Foix, where the king of Navarre wished to amuse the ladies with a bear hunt; but they did not like the amusement; some of the animals tore the horses to pieces; others overthrew ten Swiss, and as many fusileers; and one of them who had been wounded in several places, mounting upon a rock, threw himself down headlong, with seven or eight hunters whom he held fast in his paws, and crushed them to pieces.

When the two courts were at Courtras* the king of Navarre resolved to seize upon St. Emilion, two leagues from thence; he accordingly sent all those who chose to engage in the enterprize, to St. Foi,† which was not within the limits prescribed by the truce; two days after, we set off as soon as it was dark, and before daylight next morning were within a quarter of a league of the place: here we dismounted, and marched through a deep valley till we arrived close under the walls of

* In Guienne, near Libourne.

† Upon the Dordogne in Agenois

the town, without causing any alarm: those who conducted the enterprize then laid a train through two portholes situated very low in one of the towers, which as soon as fired made a breach large enough to allow two men to enter abreast, and by this means we gained the town with very little loss. When the news of this reached Courtras, where the explosion had been heard, the queen-mother was greatly enraged, and said openly, that she looked upon the action as a premeditated insult, St. Emilion being within the bounds of the truce: but the king of Navarre, who knew that a few days before the citizens of St. Emilion had pillaged a Protestant merchant, which the queen-mother maintained to be a lawful prize, justified what he had done by this fact, and all was passed over.

At last the queen-mother left the king of Navarre, and continued her rout through Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny, where she had an interview with the duke of Savoy, and returned to Paris, leaving all things in the same state in which she found them: that is, in a peace which only increased the doubts and suspicions of each party: however, she did not forget to seduce part of the king of Navarre's Catholic officers: among whom were Lavardin, Grammont,* and Duras. Another effect of her presence was, to embroil so completely the prince of Condé with the viscount Turenne, that he challenged him to a single combat: Turenne went indeed to the place appointed, but it was only to make those submissions which he owed to the high quality of his antagonist: the viscount was next challenged by Duras and Rosan,† whom he fought, and

* Philibert de Grammont, John de Durfort.

† The two brothers, Durfort de Duras, and Durfort de Rosan, fought with the viscount de Turenne, and John de Gontaut de Biron, baron of

was severely wounded: but it was said at that time that the advantage they had over him was owing to an artifice scarcely allowable.

After the queen-mother's departure, the court of Navarre went to Montauban, where consultation was held on the course to be pursued, since the queen-mother had departed without satisfying any of the grievances complained of by the Huguenots. From Montauban they went to Nerac, where for some time nothing was thought of but pleasures and gallantry.

The news of the Catholics having taken the city of Figeac* by surprise, and holding the castle besieged, determined them to take up arms immediately. The king of Navarre sent the viscount Turenne to raise the siege; who at parting said to me, "Well, sir, will you be of our party?" Yes, sir, I replied, "I shall be al-"ways of your party, provided it is for the service of "the king my master; and yours at all times when you "favour me with your friendship." The Catholics, surprised at our diligence, abandoned Figeac; and the

Salignac, his second. Although the brothers were armed with coats of mail, yet the disadvantage was wholly on their side. The viscount permitted Rosan to rise, and Salignac allowed Duras to change his sword, at the same moment nine or ten armed men fell upon the viscount, and left him upon the place pierced with two and twenty wounds, none of which, however, proved mortal. He recovered, and generously intreated the queen-mother to pardon Duras. The marshal de Damville, called, by the death of his brother, marshal de Montmorency, coming thither about that time, was consulted on this affair; and it was his opinion, as well as that of many others, that the viscount de Turenne was at liberty to satisfy his revenge by any means whatever, without exposing his own life. Memoirs of the Duke de Bouillon. His life by Marsolier. De Thou. Brantome, in the tenth volume of his memoirs, speaking of duels, seems to doubt whether this duel was conducted in the manner it was reported, considering the reputation the two brothers were in for courage and honour.

* A city of Quercy, upon the confines of Auvergne.

war being now begun by the Huguenots, they made above forty attempts on different places, of which three only succeeded.* These were Fere in Picardy, Montagu, in Poitou, and Cahors: at this last I was present, for which reason, as well as that of all the towns attacked by petard and undermining, this was the most remarkable, I shall give some account of it.

Cahors is a large and populous city, surrounded on three sides by water.† Vesins,‡ who was governor of it, had above two thousand men, besides a hundred horse, under his command: and he obliged the citizens also to take up arms. He had been informed four or five days before, of the intended attack, for the letter was found in his cabinet, upon which he had written in three different places, "a fig for the Huguenots!" The king of Navarre, whose little army was weakened by the absence of Chouppes, and who saw no means of opening himself a passage but by petard and undermining, did not, however, despair of taking the city. He reinforced his troops with all the soldiers he could find in Montauban, Négrepelisse, St. Antonin, Cajare, and Senevieres:§ but the whole did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men, with whom he left Montauban, and arrived about midnight within a quarter of a league of Cahors. It was in the month of June, the weather extremely hot, with violent thunder, but no rain. He ordered us to halt in a plantation of walnut

* See all these expeditions particularly related in D'Aubigné, vol. II. book iv.

† The river Lot washes its walls.

‡ The same who is mentioned in the beginning of this book. It is thought, that if he had not been slain in the attack, at the head of his people the king of Navarre would not have made himself master of the place.

§ Towns in Quercy.

trees; where a fountain of running-water afforded us some refreshment. Here he settled the order of his march, and of the whole attack. Two petardeers belonging to the viscount de Gourdon,* the chief contriver of this enterprize, followed by ten of the bravest soldiers in the king's guards, marched before us, to open a passage into the city: they were supported by twenty others, and thirty horse of the king's guards likewise, under the conduct of St. Martin,† their captain; forty gentlemen, commanded by Roquelaure,‡ and sixty soldiers of the guard composed another body, in which I was, and marched afterwards. The king of Navarre, at the head of two hundred men, divided into four bands, came next; the remainder of his little army, which made a body of about one thousand or twelve hundred arquebusiers, in six platoons, closed the march.

We had three gates to force; these we hastened to throw down with the petard, after which we made use of hatchets. The breaches were so low, that the first who entered were obliged to creep through upon their hands and feet. At the noise of the petard, forty men armed, and about two hundred arquebusiers, ran almost naked to dispute our entry: mean time the bells rung the alarm, to warn every body to stand to their defence. In a moment the houses were covered with soldiers, who threw large pieces of wood, tiles, and stones upon us, with repeated cries of "Charge! kill them!" We soon found, that they were resolved to receive us boldly: it was necessary, therefore,

*——de Teride, viscount de Gourdan.

† Charles le Clerc de St. Martin. He was slain there.

‡ Anthony de Roquelaure.

at first, to sustain an encounter, which lasted above a quarter of an hour, and was very terrible. I was cast to the ground by a large stone that was thrown out of a window: but by the assistance of the sieur de la Bertichere, and La Trape, my valet, I recovered, and resumed my post. All this time we advanced very little, for fresh platoons immediately succeeded those which we repulsed; so that before we gained the great square, we had sustained more than twelve attacks. My cuisses being loosened, I was wounded in the left thigh. At last we got to the square, which we found barricaded, and with infinite labour we demolished those works, being all the time exposed to the continual discharge of the artillery, which the enemy had formed into a battery.

The king of Navarre continued at the head of his troops during all these attacks; he had two pikes broke, and his armour was battered in several places by the fire and blows of the enemy. We had already performed enough to have gained a great victory· but so much remained to do, that the contest seemed only to be just began: the city being of large extent, and filled with so great a number of soldiers, that we in comparison of them were but a handful. At every cross-way we had a new combat to sustain, and every stone house we were obliged to storm: in short, each inch of ground was so well defended, that the king of Navarre had occasion for all his men, and we had not a moment's leisure to take breath.

It is hardly credible that we could endure this violent exercise for five whole days and nights; during which time, not one of us durst quit his post for a single moment, take any nourishment, but with his arms

in his hand; or sleep, except for a few moments, leaning against the shops. Fatigue, faintness, the weight of our arms, and the excessive heat, joined to the pain of our wounds deprived us of the little remainder of our strength; while our feet were so much scorched, and so sore, that we could scarcely stand.

The citizens, who suffered none of these inconveniences, and who became every hour more sensible of the smallness of our numbers, far from surrendering, thought of nothing but protracting the contest till the arrival of some succours, which they said were very near: they sent forth great cries, and animated each other by our obstinacy. Though their defence was now weak, yet they did enough to oblige us to keep upon our guard, which completed our misfortunes. In this extremity, the principal officers went to the king, and advised him to assemble as many men as he could about his person, and open himself a retreat. They redoubled their intreaties on the report which was spread, and which they found to be true, that the succours expected by the enemy were arrived at that side of the town called la Barre, and would be in the city as soon as they could force the wall. But this brave prince, whose courage nothing was ever able to subdue, turning towards them with a smiling countenance, and an air of confidence which reanimated the most exhausted, coolly replied: "It is heaven which dictates "what I ought to do upon this occasion; remember "then, that my retreat out of this city, without having "made myself master of it, will be the retreat of my "soul out of my body: my honour requires this of me; "speak therefore to me of nothing but fighting, con-"quest, or death!" Reanimated by these words, and the

example of so brave a leader, we began to make new efforts; but in all probability, we should at last have been wholly defeated, but for the arrival of Chouppes,* whom the king had the precaution to send for before the attack: he, having understood the danger Henry was in, opened himself a passage into the city, with five or six hundred foot, and a hundred horse, trampling over the enemy as he passed, who gathered in crowds to obstruct his way. As soon as he joined us, we marched together to the side of la Barre, where the enemy's succours were endeavouring to enter. All this quarter, which still held out, we forced, and when we had made ourselves masters of the parapets and towers, it was not difficult to oblige the enemy without to abandon their enterprise and retreat; after which, the inhabitants finding themselves no longer able to resist, laid down their arms, and the city was given up to plunder. My good fortune threw a small iron chest in my way, in which I found about four thousand gold crowns. In the relation of an action so hot, so long, and so glorious for the young† prince who conducted it, I am obliged to suppress many circumstances, and many particular exploits, performed by the king and his officers, which would have the appearance of being fabulous.

The king of Navarre having left Cabrieres‡ governor in Cahors, returned to Montauban, and went afterwards to Eause, where he defeated two or three

* Peter de Chouppes.

† Other historians agree, that this attack lasted five whole days, and that Henry IV had a great many soldiers wounded there, and only seventy slain. M. de Thou's relation of this affair is a little different, but our Memoirs deserve most credit.

‡ Consult D'Aubigné upon these expeditions, vol. II, book iv.

squadrons which were collecting to join the marshal de Biron, who was assembling an army for the purpose of confining the king in the places he held, and preventing him from taking the field. The marshal finding his parties daily cut off, resolved to quit the open country, and shut himself up in Marmande: upon this, the king quitted Nerac and came to Thoneins,* where there was daily skirmishing. The king, seeing that the Gascon nobles who where in Marmande constantly sallied out to attack his parties, whenever they approached the town, determined to endeavour to surprise some of them; for this purpose, he one morning ordered Lésignan, at the head of five and twenty gentlemen well mounted, of which number I was one, to advance even to the gates of Marmande, as if to defy them. We were followed by a hundred foot, who lay down on the shore of a rivulet not far from us, over which was a stone bridge; and the king, with three hundred horse, and two companies of his guards, concealed himself in a wood about half a league from Marmande. Our orders were to fire our pistols only, and to endeavour to take any of the soldiers whom we should find without the walls, and retire towards the little body of foot when the enemy began to pursue us, and to endeavour to draw them over the bridge. Accordingly, as soon as we had fired our pistols at the gate, and saw ourselves about to be attacked by a hundred horse, who came out of the city, we marched off, though they insultingly called out to us to stay. An officer of our troop, named Quasy, hearing himself defied by name, could not restrain his indignation,

* In Angenois upon the Garone.

but turned his horse's bridle, and shot his challenger dead: he lost his horse, however, but regained his brigade on foot, which, waiting for him, obliged M. Lésignan and his party also to wait, in order that the whole might pass the bridge together; in the mean time the enemy made so furious a charge, that it was impossible to avoid a general engagement, and about fifty of them passed the bridge pell-mell with our troops: this prevented our arquebusiers who were in ambush from firing, lest they might wound some of us; but the enemy no sooner perceived them, than fearing some stratagem, and supposing that the whole army would fall upon them, retreated precipitately into the city. During this charge, some terrified attendant, or other person, fled and informed an officer, that the whole of the party were put to the sword, or taken prisoners by the enemy's army; this the officer communicated to the king, and strenuously exhorted him to retreat; at first he refused, saying, it would be time enough to do that when the enemy came in sight; at last however, he yielded: but he was greatly enraged against his advisers, when he learned the real state of things, particularly on finding Lésignan complain loudly that he had been abandoned upon the occasion. I lost a horse in the action, which was killed under me: two of the enemy were killed.

Some time previous to this the prince of Condé, not satisfied with having corrupted some of Henry's troops, and openly separating from this party, had drawn several towns of Dauphiny and Languedoc into his interest, and took them from the king, to compose a sovereignty for himself. Aiguesmortes and Pecais*

* Towns in Languedoc.

he had engaged to the prince Casimir as securities for the forces this prince had promised; and lastly, he had possessed himself of Fere* in Picardy, the loss of which sensibly affected the king of Navarre, who was now obliged to dismember his army, already much inferior to that of the Catholics: he sent Turenne against the prince of Condé, whose projects he soon disconcerted: as for himself, being no longer able to keep the field before the marshal de Biron, he shut himself up in Nerac: in which the ladies and court of Navarre then were, and as brilliant as ever, notwithstanding the bad condition of the king's affairs.

This retreat gave a new face to the war: it could neither be called a campaign, nor a siege, but it was both together. Biron, judging the siege of this place to be an enterprize for which he had not sufficient strength, sought only to keep us in continual alarm, by surrounding it with all his troops: and the king of Navarre, though blocked up in the city, did not however fail to show himself sometimes in the field. The gates of the city were kept shut by his orders, his cavalry therefore was of no use to him: and our only resource was to assemble in small parties, and sally out by the private doors, to attack the separate detachments of the royal army, and sometimes we would advance to the very front of the whole army. I resumed my former condition of a private soldier, and mixing with the officers, performed many of those rash actions, in which there is neither fame nor ad-

* It was retaken immediately by the marshal de Matignon. In the Memoirs of the League there is a letter from queen Catherine to the prince of Condé, in which she thanks him for having taken up arms against the court.

vantage to be gained: and which were likewise severely condemned by the king of Navarre. When he was informed one day that I was wounded and taken by a party of the enemy, notwithstanding his anger, he sent Des-Champs and Dominge to rescue me if possible: and at my return calling me rash and presumptuous, he expressly forbid me ever to leave the city without his orders. I confess, I but too justly merited these reproofs: for it is great folly and extravagance to precipitate one's self into inevitable dangers, from whence nothing less than a miracle can extricate one. The marshal de Biron made show of besieging Nerac: but all ended in a few slight skirmishes, which the ladies witnessed from behind the ramparts, against which the marshal fired five or six cannon,* and then drew off his army.

The king of Navarre did not, however, neglect to make himself master of Monségur.† Milon, one of his captains, enclosed five hundred weight of powder in a *saucisse*, which he found means to introduce into a drain, which ran into a ditch between the two principal gates: the end of the *saucisse*, to which the fire was to be applied, was concealed amongst the grass. When every thing was ready for playing off this machine, the king permitted us to go and see the effect, which, indeed, was wonderful. One of the two gates was thrown into the city, and the other fifty paces forwards into the field. The vaults of the gate were all ruined, and a breach being made in the wall, wide

* Some cannon were discharged against a gate of the city, behind which was the queen of Navarre. At the peace, she procured the government of Guienne to be taken from this marshal.

† In the county of Foix.

enough to admit three men abreast, the city was soon taken with little loss, the inhabitants being in so great a panic that they made but a slight resistance. The enemy seeming determined to recover Monségur, the king commanded me to shut myself up in it with forty gentlemen. We applied ourselves to fortify the place well with palisades and intrenchments, in the place of those the explosion had destroyed; and this we performed without interruption, notwithstanding we were all afflicted with a kind of epidemical distemper,* and myself more than any other. At length we put the place into such a condition, that we had nothing to apprehend from the enemy; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who by the caresses with which he loaded me on this occasion, was desirous of teaching me to make a just distinction between military exploits that are authorized by duty, and those which a rash and misguided courage suggests.

It afforded me great pleasure to see the king's favour towards me increase daily, and to find that he gave by inclination what he had at first granted only on his mother's recommendation; who, when dying, pressed him to take care of my person and fortunes. Some slight services I did him this year, he rewarded by appointing me counsellor of Navarre, and chamberlain in ordinary, with a pension of two thousand livres, which at that time was thought very considerable. I was then but nineteen years of age, and the fire of youth drew me into an error which had nearly made me lose forever the favour of this prince.

* This distemper seized them in the reins, the head, and particularly in the neck. Bleeding and purging were mortal in it. De Thou observes also, that this disease was the fore-runner of a plague, which carried off forty thousand people in Paris. Book lxxiii.

I was at supper one night with Beauvais, the son of the king of Navarre's governor, and an officer named Usseau, who happening to quarrel, resolved to fight, and intreated me to provide them with the means, and to keep it secret; instead of immediately acquainting the king of Navarre with their design, who was very solicitous to prevent these sort of combats, which a false sense of honour made very frequent at that time, I was imprudent enough to promise to comply; and after having in vain endeavoured to reconcile them, conducted them myself to the place of combat, where they fought, and were both dangerously wounded. The king of Navarre, who loved Beauvais, was extremely offended with me for the part I had acted in this affair. He ordered me to be sent for, and told me in a rage, that I insulted the authority of the sovereign, even in his own court, and that, were strict justice to be done on me, I should lose my head. Instead of repairing my error by an ingenuous confession of it, I added another still greater: piqued at the king's threat, I answered haughtily, that I was neither his subject nor his vassal; and threatened him, in my turn, with quitting his service. The king discovered no other resentment for this insolence, than a contemptuous silence: I went out of his presence, with an intention of leaving this good prince, and perhaps for ever, had not the princesses undertaken to make my peace with him, who listening only to the dictates of his friendship for me, contented himself with punishing me no otherwise for my fault, than by treating me, during some time, with great coolness: at length, when he was convinced of the sincerity of my repentance, he resumed his former sentiments. This instance of his goodness made me know in what man-

ner so worthy a prince ought to be served. I attached myself to him more closely than before, resolving, from that moment, never to quit his service; but I was soon after removed from him for some time, by an imprudent promise which I had made to the duke of Alençon.

BOOK II.

1580 to 1587.

I. Affairs of Flanders; the United Provinces offer their crown to Monsieur: he goes to the Low Countries; Rosny attends him; the taking of Chateau-Cambresis, &c.; Monsieur surprises the citadel of Cambray: goes to England: returns to France; is hated by the Dutch and the Protestants on account of the treachery attempted by him at Antwerp; disconcerted by the prince of Orange; Rosny dissatisfied with Monsieur, who finding all his schemes blasted, returns to France; Rosny returns likewise, after having visited the city of Bethune.—II. Spain makes offers to the king of Navarre. Rosny sent to the court of France by the king of Navarre: he visits Monsieur; death of that prince; Rosny's second journey to Paris, and negociation there: his marriage; domestic employments.—III. Origin, formation, and progress, of the League; Henry III joins the League against the king of Navarre; divisions in the Calvinist party; the views of its chiefs; Rosny is again sent to Paris by the king of Navarre, to observe the motions of the League. An attempt upon Angers; fails. A dangerous journey taken by Rosny; the prince of Condé in extreme peril; the king of Navarre in great perplexities.—IV. Military expeditions. Rosny negociates an alliance between the two kings. The taking of Talmont, Fontenay, &c.; Rosny goes to visit and assist his wife during the plague. Fruitless interviews between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre.—V. A series of military expeditions; Rosny defeats one of the enemy's squadrons; other successes of the Calvinists; a declared persecution against them. Madame de Rosny in great danger; Rosny's secret journey to Paris.—VI. The duke of Joyeuse leads an army into Poitou, and is beat by the king of Navarre at Coutras; a particular account of that battle.

I HAVE already mentioned,* that the queen-mother, from the jealousy which she conceived towards her youngest son, the duke of Alençon (afterwards duke of Anjou, and now styled Monsieur), used every arti-

* See page 47.

fice in her power to get rid of him by marrying him to the queen of England, and inducing the people of the Low Countries (then in revolt against the authority of Spain*) to elect him their governor.† But while she was labouring to accomplish these two objects, the Flemings supposing it would render their revolt less odious if they should choose a governor out of the house of Austria, had in 1577 called the archduke Mathias to that dignity; but this prince soon after his arrival, having appointed the prince of Orange‡ his lieutenant-general over all the Provinces which had submitted to his election, it excited so much disgust and discontent amongst the other lords, who conceived themselves no way inferior to the prince of Orange, that they gradually withdrew, and submitted again to the dominion of Spain; this circumstance, and his natural imbecility and weakness, soon excited against Mathias the indignation and contempt of all his new subjects, who prevailed upon him to return to Germany: the Flemings then cast their eyes on Monsieur, and resolved to elect him their chief: this happened while the two courts were at Courtras, and as soon as

* M. de Thou, treating of this subject, says book xcvi. that before the crown of Poland was offered to the duke of Anjou, Catherine, who was resolved to make him a sovereign one way or other, had sent Francis de Noailles to Selim, the grand seignior, to ask the kingdom of Algiers for this prince; Sardinia was to be added to it, which had been obtained from Spain, in exchange for the kingdom of Navarre, which they had promised him the possession of; and as an equivalent for the claim the king of Navarre had to this kingdom, other estates in France were to be given him.

† The revolt of the United Provinces from Spain, an account of which will be seen in the following part of these Memoirs, began by an insurrection, and a confederacy formed in the year 1566, the design of which was to prevent the establishment of the inquisition in those countries. Manuscripts in the king's library marked 9981.

‡ William of Nassau, prince of Orange.

he heard of the determination of the Provinces, and of the arrival of deputies to offer him the government, he solicited so ardently the conclusion of the negociations then pending, that peace was soon after concluded,* when he repaired to Tours, where he began to raise an army for the purpose of succouring his new subjects.

Previous to his departure from Courtras, Monsieur by flattering promises, and other means, prevailed on a great number of the most distinguished persons in the king of Navarre's court to promise him their own services and those of their friends, whenever he should require them: amongst others, Fervaques and Rochepot;† two kinsmen of mine, had also engaged themselves, and in order to prevail upon me to follow their example, they were authorized by Monsieur to promise that he would put me in possession of all the estates of the viscount de Gand,‡ my uncle, who had disinherited me on account of my religion; adding moreover, that he would give me any thing I might ask upon his estates adjoining mine, to the value of twelve thousand crowns, to assist me in equipping a company. I yielded to their solicitations, and gave my word to go

* The peace was concluded at Fleix, a castle upon the Dordogne, between the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou. The Protestants, to whom the last war had not been very favourable, consented to it without any difficulty. The duke of Anjou desired it with great ardour, in order to prosecute his designs upon the Low Countries: it was signed in the month of November. The articles were not made known, but were believed to be of little importance. The cities given for security were to be kept by the Calvinists six years longer.

† William de Hauterfier de Fervaques.—Antony de Silly, lord of Rochepot.

‡ Hugh de Melun, viscount de Gand, grandfather by the mother's side, to M. de Sully.

with them. When we received Monsieur's orders to join him, I went to take leave of the king of Navarre, with whom I had a long conversation respecting my departure, and the occasion of it, which I have never reflected on since without the deepest gratitude for that generous affection he professed for me, nor without admiration at his penetrating judgment, and the justness of his conjectures. When I mentioned leaving him, "It is by this stroke," said he, "that we shall "lose you; all is over, you will become a Fleming, and "a Papist." I assured him that I would become neither; but that I should have great cause to reproach myself, if, by neglecting to cultivate the favour of my relations, and for the sake of avoiding a little trouble, I should suffer myself to be deprived of those large estates which might revert to me from the houses of Bethune, Melun, and Horn.* I added, that it was this consideration alone which induced me to join Monsieur, and that only for a short time, after which nothing should prevent my following my inclinations, which were to attach myself solely to him; and that whenever he had the smallest occasion for my service, I would leave Flanders at his first order. The king expressed his satisfaction at this declaration, and then entertained me with the predictions that had been made him, that he should one day be king of France; and I, in my turn, informed him, that a great fortune had been foretold me. An early prepossession in favour of these pretended prophecies had made me weak enough to give credit to them; but as for the king of Navarre, who was of opinion that religion ought to inspire a

* Anne de Melun, the author's mother, was the daughter of Hugo, viscount of Gand, and of Jane d'Horn.

contempt for those evil prophets, as he called them, he had within in his own mind a more certain oracle, which was a perfect knowledge of the person and character of Monsieur, and a sagacity that opened almost futurity to him. "He will deceive me," said he, "if "he ever fulfil the expectations that are conceived of "him, or ever favour the Protestants, whom I have "heard him say, he detested; besides, he has so lit- "tle courage, a heart so malignant and deceitful, a bo- "dy so ill made, so few graces in his conversation, such "want of dexterity, in every kind of exercise, that I "cannot persuade myself he will ever perform any "thing that is great, or preserve those honours which "are now heaped upon him." The king of Navarre had leisure to study this prince thoroughly, whilst they were kept prisoners together. His memory at this instant furnished him with an infinite number of particulars, that gave him reason to believe Monsieur would certainly fail in an enterprize so noble and hazardous as that he had undertaken. Amongst others he told me, that he flung himself against a pillar in running at the ring, and managed his horse with so little skill, that he was thrown to the ground, when his equerry secretly cut the reins of his horse, and spared him the shame of so aukward a fall, by saying they had broke; that he succeeded no better in dancing, hunting, or any other exercise; and far from feeling a just consciousness of those natural defects, or of repairing them in some degree by an ingenuous modesty, he secretly hated all who were more favoured by nature than himself; particularly the king of Navarre, who became the object of his jealousy and hatred, on account of the preference the ladies gave him to Monsieur, though

the brother of their king, and his having rivalled this prince in the favour of madam de Sauves.*

These little anecdotes, though inconsiderable in themselves, yet ceased to appear so, when the event fully justified the conclusions the king drew from them. He concluded by wishing me good success in Flanders, and with telling me, that he plainly perceived Catherine had formed a design to exterminate the Protestant party; and that he should soon have occasion for his faithful servants: he then embraced me; I threw myself at his feet, and kissing his hand, protested that I would ever be ready to shed the last drop of my blood in his service: I then went to pay my respects to the queen-mother: the queen of Navarre, Madame, and some of my friends, after which I took post for Rosny.

On my arrival at Rosny I sent Maignan, my equerry, to Paris, to buy me some horses: and in about eight or ten days he returned with six very fine ones, amongst which was a Spanish horse completely black, except a white spot on his right buttock, and one of the most gentle, and tractable animals I ever saw:

* ——— de Beaune of Samblonçay, married to Simon de Fizes, baron of Sauves, counsellor, and first secretary of state, who died November the 27th, 1579. She made this name well known by her gallantries. Her second husband was the marquis of Noirmoutier. "One night," says Matthieu the historian, "when the duke of Alençon was with her, the king of Na-"varre laid a snare for him, so that as he came out he fell against some-"thing in his way, and hurt one of his eyes. The next day the king of Na-"varre meeting him, exclaimed, Heavens! what is the matter with your "eye? what accident has happened to it? The duke answered rudely, It is "nothing, a small matter surprises you. The other continuing to pity "him, the duke being offended, advanced, and feigning to jest, whispered "in his ear, Whoever shall say I have got it where you imagine, I will "make him a liar. Souvray and Du Guast prevented them from fighting." Vol. I. book vii. page 409.

there was also a very bold and intrepid Sardinian horse, who would stand while a pistol was fired close to his legs or his head, without starting, but if any one drew a sword, or held up a stick before him, as if to strike him, he immediately crouched his ears, rolled his eyes, and rushed open mouthed upon the person.

Part of the lands belonging to Monsieur extending to the neighbourhood of Rosny, I took occasion from thence to draw some advantage from his offer of granting me any thing I should ask, and therefore requested the remainder of a wood to be applied to my use: which was granted: and having treated with two merchants of Meulan and Mante, they gave me forty thousand franks for it, half to be paid at the time, and the other half twelve months after. With this money, in fifteen days, I fitted out my whole troop, which was composed of eighty gentlemen, some of whom followed me disinterestedly, while others received two hundred livres at the least. With this train I went to join Monsieur, who waited for us at La-Fere, in Tartenois: from whence, after some time spent in deer-hunting, we marched to Saint Quentin, where all his troops were assembled.

The prince of Parma* surrounded Cambray with his whole army, and kept it blockaded: this afforded an occasion for the bravest amongst us to signalize themselves, and each one was desirous of commanding the first party that should be sent to reconnoitre. This honour fell to me, by the disposition into which Fervaques, the quarter master general, had put the army: it procured me, however, no advantage, for I returned

* Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma.

without having taken one prisoner, the besiegers keeping all close behind their lines, although I passed so close as to be fired at several times. The viscount Turenne secretly rejoiced at my disappointment, because I had refused the offer he made to join me, if I would wait till the next day. He chose out one hundred gentlemen, with whom he advanced towards Cambray, flattering himself that he should perform no inconsiderable exploit. The event did not answer his expectations: this fine troop had the misfortune to be defeated by from eighty to a hundred men belonging to the regiment of M. de Roubais,* of the house of Melun, who served in the enemy's army: ten or twelve were made prisoners, amongst whom were Ventadour,† and the viscount Turenne himself. Meantime Monsieur advanced, with an intention to give battle to the enemy, or to raise the siege: but he posted himself so advantageously, that we durst not attempt to force him, and the following night he abandoned his works, and retired towards Valenciennes, without the loss of a single soldier, leaving Chateau-Cambresis, and the passes of l'Ecluse, Arleux, Bouchain, and St. Amand, so securely guarded, that he was under no apprehension of being overtaken.

* Robert de Melun, marquis of Roubais. The viscount Turenne's design was to throw himself into Cambray. See his Memoirs, p. 311, and following. It is observed there, that he chose rather to be prisoner to the prince de Robecque, general of the Spanish cavalry, than to the king of Spain: which was the cause of his being detained two years and ten months; for Spain feared, that after Robecque had received the money for the viscount's ransom, which was fifty-three thousand crowns, he would quit its service.

† Anne de Levis, afterwards duke of Ventadour, knight of the king's orders, governor of Limosin, and lieutenant-general in Languedoc. He died in 1622.

Monsieur now entered Cambray, and was received with great magnificence by the governor, whose name was D'Inchy. Chateau-Cambresis refusing to surrender was taken by assault. Monsieur willing, at first to show a gentleness that might conciliate the people's affections towards him, forbid, upon pain of severe punishments, any violence against the women, who are generally the miserable victims of war: but fearing that these orders would not be sufficient to restrain the soldier's brutality, any more than the plague with which the fort was infected, he gave them the churches for asylums, and placed guards about them. A very beautiful young girl threw herself into my arms as I was walking in the streets, and holding me fast, conjured me to protect her from some soldiers, who, she said, had concealed themselves as soon as they saw me. I endeavoured to calm her fears, and offered to conduct her to the next church: but she told me she had been there, and asked for admittance, which they refused, because they knew she had the plague. Alarmed at this declaration, I thrust the girl from me, who thus exposed me to death, to save herself, while in my opinion she carried her own security about her: and hurrying away as fast as I was able, expected every moment to be siezed with the plague, but happily no bad consequences ensued.

After the capture of Cambresis, Monsieur attacked the passes of Arleux, and L'Ecluse, where in a very severe skirmish, I was so far engaged, that had not Sessaval, by making a desperate charge rescued me, I should certainly have been taken, and probably lost my life; for some prisoners which we had made, saying they belonged to the guard of the marquis de Roubais,

who was my relation, I sent them back without ransom, and also my compliments to their master; but he knowing I had a claim both by right, and by Monsieur's promise, upon the estates which the viscount de Gand had given him, answered, "By heaven, these civilities "are very fine; but if he is taken, he brings ransom "enough along with him."

The prince of Parma having divided his army in the Low Countries, Monsieur returned to Cambray, to give directions for securing the place; but being desirous (through the persuasion of some bad people about him*) of placing another governor in the town, he was guilty of a most infamous piece of treachery towards D'Inchy, the old governor, who had acted in the most loyal manner towards him: under pretence of doing him an honour, he expressed a desire to dine with D'Inchy in the citadel, and requested that none of his officers or his body guard might attend; to this the governor readily acceded, but said he was afraid he should afford but a poor entertainment to his highness, as the city had been only a short time freed from a long blockade, but that he would do every thing in his power if he were granted two or three days to make preparations: in the mean time he invited the greatest part of Monsieur's attendants, to the number of sixty, and amongst the rest myself, as the good man had a particular regard for me, being himself, as he said, descended from the houses of Melun and Horne. On the appointed day he came to conduct Monsieur to the

* The duke de Sully had perhaps particular reasons for not mentioning the names of those persons: his two kinsmen, Fervaques and Rochepot, are accused, by some of the historians of this period, of having advised Monsieur to adopt those violent measures which ruined his affairs in the Low Countries.—EDIT.

citadel, who ordered his guards to stay without; every thing was served with the greatest magnificence, and music played during the repast. On the second remove, an attendant came and whispered something to the governor, who was seated at the bottom of the table, to which he replied aloud, "Very well, let them come in, there is no danger;" and then turning to Monsieur, "Sire," said he, "your highness's guards wish to enter; it is very well, you are master here." Three different messages were brought him to the same effect, as fresh bodies of troops entered, to which he gave the same answers; but on a fourth, he appeared greatly alarmed, changed colour, his eyes sparkled with rage, and laying both his hands upon the end of the table, exclaimed to the messenger, "How is this! "disarm my soldiers! what is this, Monsieur, what is "this! I did not expect this of your highness, nor have "my services merited such unworthy treatment." Monsieur smiled, and made no other reply, than that it was nothing, he would make him reparation before he went away: but, as soon as he was certain that the citadel was secured by his soldiers, he told D'Inchy, that in return for Cambray, of which he was only the governor, he would give him Chateau-Thierry in propriety. The governor finding he could obtain no other satisfaction, left the room with tears in his eyes and almost distracted, accompanied by several of our party, who vented execrations against the authors of so detestable an act of treachery and ingratitude, and in violation of the terms of capitulation. D'Inchy did not long survive his misfortune, being slain soon after in a skirmish.

M. de Balaguy* was appointed governor of Cambray by Monsieur, who, having provided every thing necessary for its defence, returned to France, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the States to march into the interior of the provinces with his powerful army, in order to deliver them entirely from the subjection of Spain, there remaining, they said, only five or six places of consequence in the hands of the enemy. A few months after his return to France, he went to England: the reception he met with from queen Elizabeth,† and the engagement he contracted with her, having been mentioned by all the historians, I shall take no notice of them here, though I attended him in this voyage.

From England, Monsieur again returned to Zealand; flattered with a thousand agreeable hopes. He landed at Lillo,‡ from whence he went to Antwerp, where he was received with great joy and magnificence, and crowned duke of Brabant by the prince of Orange, assisted by the prince Dauphin,§ and the nobility of the Low Countries. This affection of the Dutch towards Monsieur was but of short duration: for the

* John de Montluc, natural son of John de Montluc, bishop of Valence; he is mentioned in a subsequent page.

† It is well known that the queen of England allowed several of the princes of Europe to flatter themselves in this manner with hopes of marrying her; and whether policy, or reasons purely natural, was the cause that she never came to any conclusion, is a question not easy to decide. Monsieur went to England in the winter of 1581, and returned to Flanders the spring following. See an account of this voyage, and of all the negociations concerning this marriage at length, in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 474, 603 —[On this subject the English reader is referred to Digges's Complete Ambassadour, and Lodge's Illust. Brit. Hist. vol. II. p. 173, 258. Edit.]

‡ A fort upon the Scheldt.

§ Francis of Bourbon, son to the duke of Montpensier.

prince of Orange, the only person who was more beloved by the people than him, having been wounded in his chamber by a pistol shot,* the populace, who thought none but the French could be guilty of this action, mutinied, and would have fallen upon them; and Monsieur could find security no where but in the house of the wounded prince, whither he fled for refuge: however, when the true author of this intended assassination† was discovered, the burgesses made many excuses to Monsieur for the injustice of their suspicions, and the revolt they had occasioned; but this outrage made a deep impression on his heart, and he from that moment resolved to make himself master of Antwerp.

I continued in Monsieur's train till about three weeks before his attempt upon Antwerp: for the ill treatment I received had disgusted me with his service. When I reminded him of his promise, and requested him to put me in possession of the estates of the viscount de Gand, which reverted to me, he received my request very coldly, put me off with delays, and at last, when I prest him one day on the subject, he told me very cavalierly, that he could not gratify two persons at the same time: and that my cousin,‡ the prince of Epinoy had obtained, without any trouble, what I had laboured for with so much assiduity. There was something in

* The 18th of March, 1582, by John de Jaureguy. The ball went quite through his jaw. The assassin was taken by the soldiers of the prince of Orange, who rushed in at the noise, just as he was drawing his poniard to dispatch him.—Chron. Piasicki.

† By the papers found in his pocket, he was known to be a Spaniard: this circumstance appeased the people, who were ready to put all the French to the sword. Mem. D'Aubery du Maurier. The people ran about the streets, crying, "Behold, this is the marriage of Paris, let us kill these "murderers." Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. to the end.

‡ Robert de Melun, prince of Epinoy, son to the marquis of Richebourg.

this answer more disobliging than the refusal itself: I was sensibly affected with it, and a few days after had a convincing proof of the little share myself, and the other Protestant officers had in his favour, when I heard him say publicly, after he had dismissed M. d'Avantigny, one of his privy counsellors, that his mind was at rest now, when he no longer had Huguenots in his councils. From that time I resolved to quit this ungrateful prince: and while I waited for an opportunity to return to France, I attached myself more closely to the prince of Orange, in whom I found all those qualities in which Monsieur was deficient. I remember, a few days before the treacherous attempt upon Antwerp, that I was at this prince's palace with Sainte Aldegonde,* and a minister named Villiers; when, speaking of Monsieur and the Catholics by whom he was governed, he said, "These men have designs pernicious both for themselves and us, in which, it is my opinion, they will not find their account; and I intreat you, sir," he added, turning to me, "not to go far from my lodgings."

The 15th of February,† was the day which Monsieur had secretly fixed upon for seizing Antwerp; I quitted the prince of Orange's apartments about two in the afternoon, and mounted my horse, to accompany the former, who was gone (as he had given out) to review his army near the gate of Quipedorp; I heard a great uproar in the town, and presently saw men, women, and children flying in all directions, followed

* Philip Marnix, lord of Sainte Aldegonde.

† The attempt upon Antwerp was made on the 17th of January, 1583. See Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, where a particular account of this affair is given.—EDIT.

by cavalry and infantry cutting and firing at all who came in their way, and crying out, "The town is taken! the town is taken! the mass for ever!" These were part of Monsieur's army who had entered the city by force. As soon as the prince of Orange heard the noise, he came attended with a number of soldiers, and when he saw me and some other French gentlemen, he called to us to retire to his palace as the only means of saving our lives from the fury of the people, and not to quit it till we heard from him. As I do not mean to enter into a particular detail of this affair, I shall only observe, that nearly the whole of Monsieur's soldiers who had entered the town were either slain or taken: those who escaped were obliged to throw themselves over the walls, as the only gate by which they could retreat was choked up with dead bodies.* The prince of Orange soon restored order, and even endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the burgers and Monsieur, who had now retired to Rosandel and Liere, where we found him; he was endeavouring to gain the road to Harentals, in order to reach Villovarde; but the people of Malines having laid all the surrounding country under water, he lost from four to five thousand horses in the swamps, and almost as many men, half of which were soldiers, partly by hunger and partly by the cold, having been three days and nights in this situation.

Monsieur staid five or six months in Flanders after this fatal enterprise: but his army had been so

* About this time the same attempt was made by Monsieur's orders, on the principal cities of Flanders; but the plot succeeded only upon Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Dendermonde.

considerably lessened, and the remainder so broken with fatigue, the cities so well guarded, and, to complete his misfortunes, the prince of Parma returned with an army so vastly superior to his, that he was at last oliged to go back to France with the duke de Montpensier, and the marshal de Biron, leaving nothing behind him in the Low Countries but the remembrance of a name justly detestable.

A prince who has not prudence enough to conceal his hatred of persons whose services become necessary to him, must be unhappy; but this must be owned to the advantage of virtue, that it secures, by the most infallible means, the success of all great enterprises. Wisdom, equity, discipline, order, courage, good fortune; qualities which succeed each other in the order they are mentioned, form the chain of action in truly great men. The proceedings of those who unjustly arrogate to themselves that title, offer, on the contrary, nothing but rashness and obstinacy, the companions of blind ambition. A vain confidence in their talents, presumptuous dependance on their good fortune; all consequences of flattery, which generally enslaves no persons so much as those false heroes who think themselves born to subject the whole world.

Having now quitted Monsieur's services, I could not resolve to leave Flanders without visiting those places where my ancestors were born; and having procured a passport from the court of Barlaymont,* I went to Bassée, to visit madam de Mastin, my aunt, who had also disinherited me, on account of my religion, she having suffered herself to be persuaded, by

* Claude de Barlaymont, lord of Hautepenne.

the monks who were about her, that the Protestants, neither believed in God nor Jesus Christ, and that they held the Virgin Mary and the saints in abhorrence. The day after my arrival, she carried me with her to see an abbey she had founded; and as she was showing me some fine tombs of my ancestors, which she had caused to be erected there, took occasion to speak to me on the subject of my faith. If I was astonished to hear her utter the extravagant whims which father Silvester, her confessor, had put into her head respecting the Protestants, she was no less surprised to hear me repeat the Creed, and all those prayers which we use in common with the Roman Catholics. With her reason nature was also awakened; her great simplicity was the cause of the little tenderness she had shown me: she embraced me with tears in her eyes, and promised me not only the certain succession to her estates, but also engaged to get those of the viscount de Gand restored to me: however, these good intentions were never executed.

From Bassée I went to Bethune, which I had often desired to see, it being the ancient inheritance of my ancestors, who for a long time were in possession of very considerable estates there. The treachery Monsieur had used towards the city of Antwerp, rendered all the other cities of the Low Countries suspicious: they would not suffer me to enter Bethune till I had shown my passport, declared my name, and convinced them I came from madam de Mastin, which produced an effect I little expected: I went to lodge at an inn, whose sign was the arms of the family of Bethune, where I had not been long before I was somewhat alarmed on seeing a troop of citizens, preceded by

some armed men, approach the house. They however proved to be the burgesses of the city, who, full of respect for the blood of their ancient lords, no sooner heard my name, than they resolved to pay me all possible honours; they brought me a present of wine, pastry, and sweatmeats; and conducted me to see every thing remarkable in the town, particularly the buildings and tombs of my ancestors.

Having nothing more to detain me in Flanders, I returned to Rosny, and soon after went to Guyenne, to meet the king of Navarre. After I had related to him all my adventures, and those of Monsieur, "Well," said he to me, "is not this the accomplishment of "all I predicted of this prince, in my conversation "with you at Courtras, when you took leave of me to "follow him? but the viscount de Turenne, whom I "dissuaded as much as possible from following him, "has succeeded much worse than you."

II. Monsieur's expedition into the Low Countries had enraged the king of Spain to such a degree, as to make him endeavour to gain the king of Navarre's friendship, and offer him supplies for renewing the war with the royalists of France. This proposition he received at Hagemau, whither he went to visit the countess of Guiche,* for his passion for this lady was then at its height. The distrust Henry always entertained

* Diana de Corisande Dandoins, viscountess of Lovigny, &c. wife, and afterwards widow, of Philibert Count of Grammont. In the observations upon the amours of Alcander the Great, this lady is said to have sent Henry IV, three or four and twenty thousand Gascons, levied at her own expense. It is also mentioned there, that she had a son named Antony, whom that prince offered to acknowledge for his own: but the young man replied, that he chose rather to be considered as a gentleman, than the bastard of a king. Journal of Henry the Third's Reign, page 270.

of Spain, and his natural antipathy to that court, prevented his giving any credit to it. I will not take upon me to answer for the sincerity of the Spaniards in these offers, which were made him at different times by Bernardin de Mendoza, the chevalier Moreau, and Calderon; however, I believe there were some intervals, in which the king of Spain dealt faithfully with the king of Navarre.* But be that as it will, the latter gave no answer to this proposition, and made no other use of it, than to convince the king and queen-mother of the justice of his designs; for this purpose he sent me to Paris, to inform them of the step which Spain had taken.

There was no longer any access to be had to the king of France; he had retired to Vincennes, where he saw none but his favourites, and the ministers of his pleasures. I expected to have been introduced to him by the queen of Navarre; for this princess, whose temper could not agree with that of the king her husband, had left him to return to the court of France:† but I learnt from madam de Bethune, that she was on no better terms with the queen her mother, and the king

* That which induced him to believe this, was, that to this letter of the king of Spain, presented to the king of Navarre by the chevalier Moreau, or the commander Morrée, as Davila calls him, book II. was added an offer of fifty thousand crowns, made by the same chevalier to the viscount de Chaux, on the frontier of Bearn, to maintain the king of Navarre's army; provided he would turn his arms against France. Mem. of the League, vol. V.

† From that time they always lived separate, notwithstanding the reproaches which Henry III often made the king of Navarre on that subject, and some others that are mentioned by L'Etoile. One day, when the latter received some very sharp letters from Henry III, "The king", said he, "in all his letters, honours me greatly; for by the first he calls me cuckold, "and by the last the son of a *w*—."

her brother. I then had recourse to madam de Sauves, who procured me an audience of Catherine. The affair seemed to her to be important; she mentioned it to the king, and a negociation was begun there; I even obtained from his majesty, letters of credence to the king of Navarre: but what reliance ought one to have on the determinations of a court, which, as it would seem, never formed a good design that was not immediately repented of? The queen-mother thought fit to make no other use of the king of Navarre's confidence, than to enter into a stricter union with Spain, which came to Henry's knowledge by the reproaches the king of Spain made him, for having betrayed his secret.

The bad reception Monsieur met with from the king his brother at his return from Flanders, was one effect of this reconciliation with Spain. This prince retired to Chateau-Thierry, oppressed with grief. After my deputation was finished, being at home and engaged in no employment, curiosity led me to visit Monsieur at Chateau-Thierry. I imagined his bad fortune would have made him wiser: but it had only abated his pride. He received me with a kindness that I was far from thinking disinterested, and from which I immediately concluded, he had some great designs in his head. The advantageous offers made me in his name by Aurilly, who had procured me the honour of kissing his hand, convinced me I was not mistaken: but, amidst the great projects* with which Monsieur

* Monsieur took the titles of son of France, by the grace of God duke of Lauthier, of Brabant, Luxembourg, Guelderland, Alençon, Anjou, Touraine, Berry, Evreux, and Chateau-Thierry, count of Flanders, of Holland, Zealand, Zutphen, Maine, Perche, Mante, Meulan, and Beaufort, mar-

was intoxicated, I discovered a melancholy and secret discontent that preyed upon his heart, and which nothing could remove: from hence proceeded that languishing disorder, which some time after put an end to all ambitious designs by death.*

At my return to Paris, I received an order from the king of Navarre to come to him upon some very important affairs. He was endeavouring to disconcert, if possible, all the enterprizes of the league: a design which this wise prince had always in view. He had occasion for a person on whose probity he could rely, to reside at the court of France, and study all its motions: and it was to charge me with this commission, that he had commanded my attendance. He communicated his reflections to me, gave me all the necessary instructions, and when I took leave of him, embraced me several times, saying, "My friend, remember, that "the first quality in a man of true courage and worth, "is to keep his word inviolate: that which I have "given to you I will never fail in." There was no necessity for racking my invention, to furnish me with a pretence for this second journey to Paris. The favour in which I had left my two younger brothers†

quis of the holy Roman empire, lord of Friesland, and Mechlin, defender of the Belgic liberty. Hercules was his baptismal name, but when he was confirmed, it was changed to Francis.

* There is no historian who doubts that he died by poison. His blood ran through all his pores, as if every vein had been burst. De Thou, book lxxviii. "This happened," says the Memoirs of Nevers, "by his having "lain with La——— who made him smell a poisoned nosegay." Ibid. p. 163. Busbeq, Ep. 33, 35.

† Solomon and Philip de Bethune. The first, as eldest, was called baron of Rosny, and was governor of Mante. The second has formed the branch of the counts of Selles and Charost. By attaching themselves to the person and party of the king of France, they both adjured the Protestant religion, in which they had been educated.

at that court, afforded me a very plausible one. They had begun to create jealousy in the favourites, for the king already made them his companions in his parties of devotion, which was a step likely to lead them to the greatest familiarity: however, on my arrival, I learned that they were disgraced: the reason of which I did not know till a long time after, and it is of the number of those things which ought to be buried in oblivion.* However, this accident did not hinder me from entering upon my new employment at Paris, and the court. I gave the king of Navarre exact intelligence of all that passed, that he might take such measures as were best suited to the state of his affairs.

Engaged in this new kind of life, which obliged me, by the nature of the employment I had undertaken, to frequent the court, to mix in the politest company of the city, to share in their amusements, their pleasures, and even to be infected with their idleness; and being, besides, in the prime and strength of my age, it is not strange that I should pay the accustomed tribute to love. I became violently enamoured of the daughter of the president de St. Mesmin, one of the most beautiful ladies in France. I abandoned myself so entirely to a passion, which, in the beginning is so delightful, that when I would have stifled it afterwards, upon reflecting that this alliance was not suitable to me, I found that consideration too weak when opposed to the friendship the whole family expressed for me, the esteem of a truly respectable father, and the charms of a mistress worthy my tenderest affection. My own endeavours alone would not have been sufficient to

* Those who are curious to know it, need only consult the seventh chapter of the Confession of Sancy.

have broken this chain. La Fond,* to divert the course of my thoughts, proposed to me to visit mademoiselle de Courtenay,† to whom he earnestly wished I would pay my addresses, as a person who, in all respects, was much more suitable to me. I did visit her, and approved this choice; but mademoiselle de St. Mesmin soon destroyed all these wise reflections. Being one day at Nogent, upon the Seine, attended by this La Fond, and some other persons, I went to lodge at an inn, whither chance had conducted both mademoiselle de St. Mesmin, and mademoiselle de Courtenay, which I learnt the moment I entered the inn. This was one of the most delicate conjunctures imaginable, and I judged it would be impossible to leave the place without breaking forever with that lady of the two, to whom I should neglect to pay my first visit and assiduities. In a case of this nature, no artifice, no address can satisfy two women at the same time.

Mademoiselle de St. Mesmin's youngest sister coming down stairs at that moment, found me absorbed in reflection, like a man that was labouring to reconcile his reason with his love. She perceived it, and my confusion affording her a fine opportunity to display the vivacity of her wit, she endeavoured to draw me to her sister's feet; when La Fond approaching me, whispered in my ear, "Turn to the right sir: there you "will find a large estate, a royal extraction, and equal "beauty, when it shall have attained to the age of per-"fection." These few words, so seasonably uttered,

* La Fond was his valet de chambre. He is mentioned in another place.

† Anne de Courtenay, youngest daughter of Francis de Courtenay, lord of Bontin.

recalled my scattered reason, and fixed my wavering purpose. I was convinced the advice La Fond gave me was good, and that the only difference between the beauty of mademoisselle de Courtenay, and her rival, was, that the one was already in the possession of charms, which a year or two more promised the other. I sent an excuse for not attending mademoiselle de St. Mesmin, which drew upon me many reproaches; but I courageously sustained the assault, and went immediately after to visit mademoiselle de Courtenay, who valued this sacrifice at its full price. She was pleased with the preference; and I applauded myself for it, when I considered my new mistress with more attention, and after a few visits more had given me a perfect knowledge of her character. My addresses were favourably received, and a short time after this adventure we were married.*

The tenderness and assiduity due to an amiable bride detained me in Rosny this whole year, amidst rural employments, exercises, and diversions; another kind of life not less new to me, than the former. The country, to those whose time has been divided between the court and the field, is generally an occasion of double expense; but it affords many resources to a man, who knows that good economy supplies the place of great riches. My turn for fine horses, which I had cultivated merely for my pleasure, did not make up a useless part of this domestic economy. I kept jockeys in my service, whom I sent to buy horses in foreign countries, where they were cheap, and sold them in

* Guy de Bethune, son of Alpin de Bethune, great grandfather of M. de Rosny, had married one Frances de Courtenay Bontin.

Gascony, at the king of Navarre's court, whence I never failed to draw large sums for them.

Towards the end of this year,* a letter from the king of Navarre drew me from this life of inactivity: he informed me, that the time in which he had foreseen that the assistance of his faithful servants would be necessary, was now come: that the state and our religion were threatened with the severest misfortunes, if immediate endeavours were not used to avert them; and that he should soon have a cruel war to sustain. I instantly prepared to attend him, taking with me, as well for his use, as my own, forty-eight thousand francs,

* The peace continuing in force till the following year, the Memoirs of this and the preceding contain little concerning the king of Navarre. Le Grain relates the adventure which happened to him with captain Michau, who pretended to have quitted the service of Spain for that of Henry, in order to find some opportunity of murdering him treacherously. "One day," says he, "when the king of Navarre was hunting in the forests of Aillas, "he perceived Michau just behind him, well mounted, with a couple of pis- "tols cocked and primed. The king was alone and unattended, it being "customary for hunters to separate; and seeing him approach, 'Captain "Michau,' said he to him, with a bold and determined look, 'dismount; I "have a mind to make trial of your horse, that I may know if it be as good "a one as you say it is.' The captain obeyed, and dismounting, the king "got upon his horse, and taking the pistols, 'Do you design to shoot me "with one of these?' said he: 'I am told you intend to kill me; but in the "mean time I can kill you if I please.' Saying this, he discharged the two "pistols in the air, and commanded the captain to follow him. Michau, "having made many excuses, took leave two days after, and never after ap- "peared." Decade of Henry the Great, book viii. Busbeq, who at that time resided at Paris, in the quality of ambassador from the emperor Rodolphus II, assures us also, in his Letters, that a deserter, whom he does not name, administered poison to the king of Navarre: but that either by the strength of his constitution, or the weakness of the poison, he felt no bad effects from it: and adds, that this same man having attempted afterwards to shoot him with a pistol, and failing, was taken and put to the torture; and that it was known, by the behaviour of Henry III upon this occasion, that he had no part in the designed assassination. Epist. 46.

which I raised by the sale of some timber which I had cut down for that purpose.

III. In the year 1585 the bold enterprises of the league* broke out: one cannot reflect without horror,

* The first step which discovered the designs of the league, was an association of princes, prelates, and gentlemen of Picardy, who met at Peronne, to avoid obeying the edict of sixty-three articles published in the year 1576, in favour of the Protestants. The manifesto there drawn up, served for a model to all the other provinces, and even to the states of Blois, which were summoned about the end of that year, whose resolutions obliged Henry III to declare himself the head of the Catholics against the Huguenots, that he might not leave this title to be assumed by the duke of Guise. At first, they talked only of maintaining the Catholic religion alone in the kingdom, but at length a debate arose concerning the succession to the crown, into which they introduced the pope and king of Spain. See the form of these associations in the MS. volume marked 1826, in the king's library, p. 160. The conspiracy of the nobility of Normandy, with the oath to preserve the Catholic religion in France, and the crown to the house of Valois, see in vol. 3832. p. 5. The whole of this volume is likewise filled with memoirs relating to the league, and the first states of Blois. See also the treaty, the league made with the king of Spain at the castle of Joinville, signed by the respective parties, with many other pieces on the same subject, vol. 3866. All, or part of these pieces, with very curious circumstances relating to the same subject, may be found in different authors, such as the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Memoirs of the League, vol. I. Memoirs of State by Villeroy, vol. II. De Thou, book lxiii. and lxxxi. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book iii. ch. 3. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. and viii. Le Novennaire de Cayet, vol. I. at the beginning; and many others. Many persons believe the origin of the league to be much more ancient, and that it took its rise in the council of Trent, through the endeavours of the cardinal of Lorrain, the uncle; during which Francis duke of Guise on his side formed the plan of it in France; but the death of the latter suspended the effect. It is pretended also, that Don John of Austria passing through France, in his way to Flanders, concerted the scheme with the duke of Guise. The college of Forteret has been accounted the cradle of the league. It is said that a lawyer, named David, carried the memoirs to Rome; and that these Memoirs, which may be found in the first volume of the memoirs of the League, being intercepted by the Huguenots, gave them the first certain intelligence of it. Some persons have doubted whether this lawyer, who died in his journey to Rome, or, as others say, in his return from thence, did not treat with the pope of his own accord, and

that in less than four years, ten royal armies fell upon the king of Navarre, when the danger that equally threatened the two kings was turned against him alone, through the weakness of Henry III, who allowed his own enemies to give laws to him, and conducted himself the hand that sought to overthrow his authority.

Henry III, perceiving the league would publicly raise the standard of revolt, waked a little from the lethargy into which he had been plunged, and thought proper to send the duke de Joyeuse* into Normandy, to oppose the duke d'Elbœuf,† who kept an army there, which the league made use of to extort the famous edict of July,‡ wherein all the Huguenots were ordered, either

agreeably to his own opinion; which is very improbable. As for Henry III, he certainly deserves all the reproaches which the duke of Sully here casts upon him. He had undeniable proofs of his enemies designs upon the royal authority; to whom, when he broke the edict of pacification in 1577, he said aloud these words, "I am much afraid, that by our endeavours to suppress Calvinism, we shall bring the mass into danger." We are assured, that all the secrets of the league were discovered to him by a gentleman named La Rochette, to whom they were entrusted, and who suffered himself to be taken on purpose that he might reveal them without danger. In a word, it is also certain, that the duke of Guise began to raise the standard of his party in the year 1585, when he was still so weak, that he could not depend upon more than four thousand foot and a thousand horse. Even Beauvais Nangis (who relates it himself in his Memoirs) asked him one day what he intended to do if the king should come to attack him: "I will retire immediately to Germany," replied the duke, "and there wait for a more favourable opportunity."

* Anne duke de Joyeuse the eldest of the seven sons of William de Joyeuse.

† Claud of Lorrain.

‡ This was the treaty of Nemours; the triumph of the league, and the disgrace of Henry III. Henry IV, told the marquis de la Force, in the presence of Matthieu, who relates it in his eighth book, that the moment he was informed of this shameful weakness of the king of France, his mustaches turned suddenly white on that side of his face which he supported with his hand. Sixtus the Fifth himself appeared ashamed of it; and by the same bull of September the 5th, 1585, wherein he excommunicated all who as-

to go to mass, or to leave the kingdom in six months. Joyeuse, who had my two brothers in his army, passed by Rosny, and prevailed upon me, without much difficulty, to go with him: by attacking the league, the friends of the king of Navarre entered into his true interests. I gave him the best reception in my power, but nothing charmed him so much as the beauty of my horses. Lavardin likewise took his way through Rosny, but went to lodge at the extremity of the town. During their stay Chichot,* who would always give free scope to his humour, resolved to divert himself at Lavardin's expense, whom he called *the madman;* and sending for him one day, told him with a mysterious

sisted the Huguenots, he likewise excommunicated those who undertook any thing against the king and kingdom. He foresaw at that time all the miseries that would befal France. See these articles of Nemours, and the proceedings of the league both in France and at Rome, in vol. I. of the Memoirs of Nevers, p. 661, and following.

* Chicot was a Gascon, brave, rich, and a buffoon. At the siege of Rouen, he wounded Henry de Lorrain, count de Chaligny, in the thigh; and taking him prisoner, presented him to Henry IV, saying, "Here, see "what I give thee!" The count enraged at being taken by a fool, gave him a blow on the head with the hilt of his sword, which killed him. He used to say whatever he pleased to the king, without giving him any offence. When the duke of Parma came to France, Chicot said to the king, before all the courtiers, "My friend, I see very well that all you do will signify "nothing unless you either turn Catholic or pretend you are one." Another time he said to him, "I am convinced that to be peaceably king of "France, you would give both Papists and Huguenots to Lucifer's clerks: "so true it is, that you kings have no religion but in appearance." "I am "not surprised," said he another time to his majesty, "that so many per-"sons desire to be kings: it is a good trade, and by working at it only an "hour in a day, one may make sufficient provision for the rest of the week, "without being obliged to one's neighbours; but for God's sake, my friend, "take care and do not fall into the hands of the leaguers, for you would "fall into those who would hang you up like a hog's gut, and write upon "your gibbet, At the arms of France and Navarre are good lodgings to be "let." Memoirs for the History of France, vol. II. p. 72.

air, that that devil of a Huguenot (meaning me) certainly intended to keep the *deaf man* (a nickname he gave to the duke de Joyeuse) prisoner. Lavardin, without reflecting that his attempt would be useless, if not ridiculous, armed himself immediately, with all his domestics, and came with them in bravado before my door; where he was obliged to bear the railleries of the whole company, who did not spare him.

What I am now going to say, will hardly appear credible. We set out together, and had scarcely reached Verneuil, when the duke de Joyeuse received a packet from the court, which informed him that the king had concluded a peace with the league, and that it was his majesty's intention that the army, which two days ago was to support him against the league, should be led against the king of Navarre.* Joyeuse, in relating this to me, added, "Well! monsieur le baron de Rosny, this stroke will give me a cheap bargain of your fine horses, for the war is declared against the Protestants: but I persuade myself," continued he, "that you will not be so simple as to join the king of Navarre, and by embarking in a cause that will infallibly be ruined, lose your fine estate of Rosny." The duke might have spoken much longer without interruption; for al-

* The king was forced to it at Chalons by the leaguers, who were assembled there. He secretly excused himself to the king of Navarre, upon the necessity he was driven to. This prince and the queen his mother suffered themselves to be unseasonably intimidated by the threats of the league, whose forces were exaggerated, although it would not have been difficult to have destroyed it in the beginning. The council also missed an opportunity of uniting the Low Countries to the crown, by sending back the deputies from those provinces, without an answer, who came to offer the sovereignty of them to the king, provided he would march with his troops to that quarter. Thus were two great errors committed at one time. De Thou, book lxxxi.

though I was sufficiently acquainted with the court, not to be surprised at any thing it did, yet I could not reflect without astonishment, upon the difficulties through which fortune seemed to take a pleasure in leading the king of Navarre, before she conducted him to that greatness which was destined for him; for I was always persuaded of this in my own mind, and the predictions of La Brosse were continually present to me. My answer, therefore, to Joyeuse, turned wholly upon those presages; after which I quitted him abruptly. This step might appear a little extravagant to him; and I have been informed, that he said to those about him, "There goes a consummate fool, who is afraid of nothing; but he will be finely deluded by his sorcerer."

I returned to my house, from whence I set out again immediately, after taking some new measures conformable to the sudden change which had just happened. I went directly to Guienne, where the king of Navarre was, to know his intentions, and to make preparations accordingly: I staid with him four or five months. He carried me with him to Montauban, where he held several conferences with the Protestants on the steps necessary to be taken in this conjuncture. Unhappily for them, upon this occasion, when all was at stake, they did not sufficiently understand their true interest, at least not so as to oblige them to a perfect union amongst themselves, and a faithful concurrence in the same designs. From that time, some of the principal leaders thought more of their own private advancement than the king's, without considering that their fortunes were so closely connected with his, that if he failed, it would be impossible for them to suc-

ceed. Each was for building a fortune for himself, independent of the general plan.

This disunion of minds shewed itself more openly in a private conference held at St. Paul de Lamiate, where audience was given to a doctor of divinity, named Butrick, sent thither by the elector Palatine: here the viscount de Turenne gave the first indications of that turbulent, false, and ambitious spirit, which formed his character. He had, in concert with this Butrick, projected a new system* of government, into which they had drawn messieurs de Constans, D'Aubigné, de St. Germain-Beaupré, de St. Germain de Clan, de Brezolles, and others. They wished to form the Calvinist part of France into a kind of a republican state, under the protection of the elector Palatine, and five or six lieutenants, in his name, were to be sent into the different provinces.

If we examine this project, it will easily appear, that the king of Navarre was but little obliged to these gentlemen, since, by this plan, they blended the princes of the blood with the officers of the Protestant party, and reduced them all to the quality of lieutenants under a petty foreign prince. This was not the only time that the king of Navarre found secret enemies in his councils, amongst his dependents, and, in appearance, most zealous servants, and even amongst his own friends and relations.

* The historian who wrote the life of the duke of Bouillon, does not deny that these were the views of this Calvinist nobleman. He was a very able politician, extremely ambitious, passionately desirous of the rank of leader of the Calvinists of France, and very capable of filling that post. This is all that can be said to soften those strong expressions, which Monsieur de Sully frequently makes use of, when speaking of the duke de Bouillon.

From men all things may be expected; they are not to be kept firm to their duty, integrity, and the laws of society, by fidelity and virtue, but by their hopes, and wishes. But how could these consummate politicians undertake to mention unity and concord in their pretended republic? they, who were for giving it so many heads, each independent of the other, and all under little subjection to a protector too weak to make himself be obeyed. Their object was soon perceived; they wished to make themselves so many sovereigns in their several districts, not foreseeing that by this means they would only deliver up each other to the discretion of Spain, and the league, who would easily destroy them, by attacking them separately.

Altogether these cabals of the principal officers in the Protestant party with a foreigner, were carried on privately enough, yet happily they did not hinder the better party from prevailing in the assembly. The duke de Montmorency* was of opinion, that in the present danger we should be all united, and keep ourselves effectually upon the defensive. I insisted, in all the councils, upon the necessity of acknowledging the authority of one head only, and of not weakening our power by dividing it. As we came out from one of these councils, the king of Navarre drawing me aside, said to me, "Monsieur le baron de Rosny, it is "not enough to speak well, we must act still better: "are you not resolved that we shall die together? it is "no longer time to be frugal; all men of honour, and "who have their religion at heart, must venture one "half of their estates to save the other. I am per-

* Henry, marshal de Damville, now become duke de Montmorency.

"suaded, that you will be amongst the first to assist "me, and I promise you, if I succeed, you shall par- "take of my good fortune." "No, no, sir," I replied, "we will not die, but we will live together, and make "our enemies shorter by their heads. I have still a "wood that will produce me a hundred thousand "franks, and all shall be employed on this occasion; "you shall give me more when you are rich, which "will certainly happen: I had a preceptor who was "possessed by a devil, and he foretold it me." The king of Navarre could not help smiling at this sally, and embracing me closely; "Well, my friend," said he, "return to your house, be diligent, and come to "me soon again, with as many of your friends as you "can bring with you, and do not forget your wood "of timber trees." He afterwards communicated to me the design he had of carrying the war into the heart of France, and of approaching Paris, or at least the Loire, which was, he said, the only means of bringing them to their senses. He told me also, that he carried on private correspondence in Angers, but that he feared the prince of Condé would by his precipitation obstruct his designs there, more than the Catholics: the event will show if he judged rightly. He promised to inform me of all that passed, and took leave of me, with a thousand testimonies of friendship, which I shall never forget.

I arrived at Bergerac, almost in the same moment that the cardinal de Lenoncourt,* M. de Sillery, and M. de Poigny came thither also, being deputed by the court

* Philip de Lenoncourt, cardinal and archbishop of Rheims,—Nicholas Brulart, marquis of Sillery, afterwards chancellor,—John D'Angennes lord of Poigny.

to the king of Navarre, to represent to him, for the last time, the necessity he was under of submitting to the king's pleasure, and of changing his religion.* Poigny came to me the next day, disclosing to me the purport of his commission, and asked me what I thought would be the event of his journey. I assured him that he was giving himself an useless trouble; and that on an occasion when religion, the state, and the royal authority were in so great danger, it would not be words only that could prevail upon the king of Navarre. He sighed, shrugged up his shoulders, and said to me, "Ah, sir, I fancy a mass would be a dif-

* In the Memoirs of the life of J. A. de Thou, book iii. there is a conversation which Michael de Montagne had with this president, which the reader may not be displeased to see here: "As they were discoursing," says the author, "upon the causes of the present troubles, Montagne "told the president, that he had been a mediator between the king of Na- "varre, and the duke of Guise, when these two princes were at the court; "and that the latter by his cares, his services, and attentions, made ad- "vances to gain the king of Navarre's friendship; but finding that he "made a jest of him, and that after all his endeavours he was still an im- "placable enemy, he had recourse to war as the last resource to defend "the honour of his family; that the enmity which raged in the minds of "these two persons, was the cause of a war, which was at present so far "kindled, that only the death of one of them could extinguish it; that "neither the duke nor any of his family would believe themselves secure, "while the king of Navarre lived; and the king of Navarre, on his side "was persuaded, that he should derive no advantage from his right of "succession to the crown, during the duke's life. As for religion," added he, "which they both make such a noise about, it is a good pretence "to procure adherents, but neither of them is much affected by it. The "fear of being abandoned by the Protestants, is the sole cause, that pre- "vents the king of Navarre from embracing the religion of his ancestors, "nor would the duke recede from the confession of Augsburg, which his "uncle, Charles cardinal of Lorrain, had taught him, if he could follow "it without prejudice to his interests. These, he said, were the senti- "ments he discovered in these two princes, when he was employed in their "affairs."

"ficult conquest in this town." "Good heavens, sir," I answered, "not at all, you may have as many as "you please; and I wish to God you were not such "enemies to our service, but would allow every one "to gain paradise as he can, and not care so much "about heaven for other people, as to make the king "and all good Frenchmen lose the earth." During this conversation I led him and the others to the chapel where mass was performing, and then took my leave. What I had foretold the deputies of the event of their commission, exactly happened.

I continued my journey to Paris, where on my arrival, I found nothing was talked of but the design of ruining the king of Navarre entirely, and extirpating the Huguenots. Every thing there was conducted according to the inclination of the league, which, since the shameful step the king had taken, ruled despotically, and all the worthy Frenchmen that remained, were under a necessity of lamenting in private the misfortunes which the king's weakness had drawn upon the kingdom. It was to these that I addressed myself, and I had some conferences with messieurs de Rambouillet, de Montbazon* the elder, d'Aumont, de la Rocheguion, des Arpentis, and some others. They all assured me, that when once the king of Navarre should appear in the neighbourhood of the Loire, he should soon see a considerable number of true Frenchmen in his train. I exhorted them as much as I was able to adhere to

* Nicholas D'Angennes, marquis of Rambouillet.—Lewis de Rohan, created duke of Monbazon in the year 1588.—John D'Aumont, marshal of France.——de Silly, count of Rocheguion. Lewis du Bois, lord of Arpentis, master of the king's wardrobe, governor of Touraine.

their resolutions,* but different occurrences changed these good dispositions. While I staid in Paris, I was busied about my equipage: I bought of M. de la Rocheguion, a very beautiful Spanish horse for six hundred crowns, three other horses from messieurs Laugnac, de Rieux, and de la Taillade; and in the horse market a silver roan horse for forty crowns, which seemed only fit to carry baggage, but which proved so excellent an animal, that I sold him to M. de Chartres for six hundred crowns; I also sold the Spanish horse to M. de Nemours la Garnache, for two hundred crowns, which he not being able to pay me, I received in lieu of it the tapestry in the great hall at Sully representing the labours of Hercules.

I learnt by public report, what had happened at Angers: but, in order to give a distinct account of it, it is necessary to take the story a little higher. Brissac,† who was governor of the castle of this city, placed a lieutenant there in his absence, called captain Grec, with twenty soldiers on whose fidelity he had an entire reliance. Two of these soldiers, having formerly been of the reformed religion, suffered themselves to be gained by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to deliver up the castle to them, which would necessarily be followed by the surrender of the city. When it was known at Angers, that Henry III had joined with the king of Navarre against the league, a third party was formed, headed by Du-Hallot,‡ who likewise endea-

* Monsieur de Rosny's negociation with Henry III, is mentioned by De Thou, book lxxxii.

† Charles de Cossy, count de Brissac.

‡ Michael Bourrouge du Hallot.—Lewis Bouchereau, de Rochemorte, Leon de Fresne.

voured to gain Rochemorte and Fresne, so were the two soldiers named. Matters did not long continue in this state; the two soldiers, pressed by the prince of Condé, surprised captain Grec, and killed him, together with some of his men: after which they seized upon the castle. Du-Hallot, who knew not of the change that had so lately happened at court, gave himself no trouble about this action; on the contrary, he satisfied the people, by representing to them, that the two soldiers had only acted according to the king's orders; and he remained in this error, till offering to enter the castle, he himself experienced the treachery of Rochemorte and Fresne, and, through his mistake, suffered death upon the wheel.*

Hitherto every thing succeeded for the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé's party. But they soon experienced the instability of fortune. Rochemorte having been drawn beyond the bridge by the Catholics, who kept the castle invested, and perceiving that their design was to surprize the place, and make him their prisoner, endeavoured to get in again. In this tumult, those within the castle thought of nothing but of drawing up the bridge immediately. Rochemorte grasped the chains, which losing from his hold he fell into the ditch, where a stag that was feeding despatched him by tearing him in pieces. Fresne only remained, who, two days after, as he was sleeping upon a parapet on the wall, where he thought himself in safety, was killed by a carabine, shot from the other side of the river, at the distance of above 500 paces. After this the Catholics drove out the rest of the Huguenots from the city and

* The king was so much afraid of the league, that he publicly disavowed Du Hallot's enterprize.

castle, with the same facility that they had seized it. Things would not have taken this unfavourable turn, if the king of Navarre had conducted the enterprize alone; for he would not have suffered the two conspirators to begin their operations till he was at the gates to support them with his whole army.

This ill-concerted scheme produced more misfortunes; the prince of Condé being engaged in the siege of Brouage, when news was brought him, that his party had surprized Angers, did not hesitate a moment to quit the siege, but went immediately to the assistance of his confederates at Angers; where arriving too late, he failed in both his designs. This was not all; the whole Catholic army being idle and dispersed, assembled again in the neighbourhood of Angers, which took away all possibility of regaining it, precipitated all the actions of the campaign, and brought the prince of Condé himself, as we shall see presently, into a danger, from whence he escaped only by a singular instance of good fortune.

After this first act of hostility on the Protestant side, I conceived it would be no longer possible to keep any measures with the Catholics. If to continue at Rosny, therefore, was dangerous, the country being overspread with royalists, it was no less so to endeavour to make my way to the king of Navarre: however, I resolved upon this last expedient, being convinced, that he never had more need of my assistance than in the present conjuncture: and that the difficulty of sending dispatches through the midst of an enemy's army was the only cause of my not hearing from him as he had promised. *Messieurs de Moui, de Feuquieres, and Mo-

* Isaac Vaudray, lord of Mouy. N—de Pas-Feuquieres.

rinville, to whom I imparted my design, judging it to be too hazardous, refused to accompany me: but this did not hinder me from setting out on my journey, attended only by six gentlemen, and my domestics, two of whom carried portmanteaus, in each of which were six thousand crowns.

I lay the first night at Nonancourt,* and the second at Chateaudun.† Hitherto no unfortunate accident befel me: for although we every where met with great numbers of Catholic soldiers, yet they all supposed I was going, like them, to join the duke of Joyeuse's army; with whom, as a soldier named Mothepotain informed me, every thing went on very well. I left Chateaudun before day, lest I should be discovered, and came to Vendome, where not being willing to be known by Bénehart,‡ I made Boisbreuil, one of the gentlemen in my train, pass for the master of the troop, and I mounted, like one of the domestics, upon a horse that carried baggage. He who appeared to be the chief amongst us was asked several questions, to which he made proper answers, and we were suffered to pass. We traversed the whole city, in order to lodge in the most distant part of the suburbs. Bénehart, who believed us to be Catholics, as we had assured him we were, very obligingly sent to advise us to return into the city, because the prince of Condé's army, which had been repulsed before Angers, was dispersed over the country, and sometimes made excursions to the gates of the city, which rendered our stay in the suburbs very dangerous. What he represented to us as a misfortune we should have looked upon as a very

* In Perche. † In the county of Chartrain.

‡ James de Maillé de Bénehart, governor of Vendome.

great happiness; but there was a necessity for concealing it: therefore, the pretended master of the equipage seeming to approve of this advice, ordered the baggage to be put upon the horses again, that we might return into the city. It belonged to me, who performed the part of a domestic, secretly to protract our stay till the night approached. The hurry and confusion, occasioned by the removal of all the people who lodged there, for the order was general, kept our artifice unsuspected: at length, we in reality made preparations for going, as well as the rest; but after our horses had been fed and refreshed, and the night half spent, we mounted, and, instead of entering the city, filed off into a bye street, which I had caused to be reconnoitred, and got into the fields on that side, where I supposed the prince of Condé's army might be.

We had, however, reason to apprehend, that the artifice which had hitherto proved so successful, would occasion our ruin, through the impossibility of distinguishing readily, to what party those whom we might happen to meet, belonged: a mistake might cost us our lives; but there being no remedy, we continued our journey, though with sufficient uneasiness, thinking it necessary not to alter our usual answer. In effect, the first we met with was a company of light armed horse, commanded by Falandre. To the question, "Qui vive?" we replied, "Vive le Roy;" and Falandre examining us no further, advised us to join him, lest we should meet the prince of Condé's little army, which he assured us was not far off: adding, that if we doubted him, we might get further information from two or three companies of argoulets,* who were com-

* So called from the bows with which they were at first armed. They served on foot or on horseback, as the dragoons do at present. When the

ing after. These last words furnished us with a pretence for evading his perplexing civility: we feigned to have reasons for not following the same route with him, and for waiting to take our measures from the answer we should receive from the argoulets. In reality, we were no less apprehensive of this other rencounter, but we prepared for it, relying still upon the good fortune of escaping by means of our disguise: accordingly, we did not fail to answer boldly to the question, "Qui vive?" (which was asked us by the next company we met,) "Vive le Roy," being persuaded that we spoke to the argoulets of the royal army, whom Falandre had mentioned to us. This supposition, however, drew us into a very great danger: for these argoulets having perceived the prince of Condé's army at a distance, dispersed, and threw themselves into the woods. Instead of them, therefore, the body which we now encountered were four companies belonging to the prince, as we soon comprehended by the whole troop advancing upon us, and aiming their pieces, crying out to us to surrender. At that moment, I plainly distinguished three officers of my acquaintance, to whom it would not have been difficult in any other situation to have made myself known: but I reflected, that in such sort of encounters, the first word, the first motion, that tends to an explanation, is generally understood as a refusal to surrender, and followed by a discharge of the piece close to the breast. Instead, therefore, of naming myself, or those officers, I made signs that I yielded myself a prisoner, and marched after the rest, till coming near Messieurs de Clermont*

arquebuses were first in use, they were called horse-arquebusiers; and it is by this name they are generally called in these Memoirs.

* George de Clermont d'Amboise, marquis of Galerande.

and St. Gelais, whom I surprised very much when I made myself known to them, they ordered my equipage to be restored to me, and likewise the portmanteaus which contained my money.

The prince of Condé came up soon after these four companies: he could scarcely believe what he saw, so bold did my enterprize appear to him. We lay all night in this place, after supping very temperately out of wooden dishes: and when the time came which obliged us to separate, the prince, who was so thinly accompanied, that far from being able to make head against a royal army, he was not in a condition to defend himself against a strong detachment, and being likewise in a province where he was sought for in all parts, wished me to receive him into my company, in the quality of a private gentleman; but he was so well known, that I could not yield to his request, without ruining both him and myself: I intreated him, therefore, to dispense with my compliance; and making the same excuse to the duke de la Trémouille,* charged myself only with messieurs de Fors, Du Plessis, de Verac, and d'Oradour. The prince of Condé remained behind, extremely perplexed; and finding it still more dangerous to continue with his twelve hundred horse, than to march with a small retinue, he divided them into parties, of which the most considerable consisted only of twenty horse, making them take bye ways, and marching himself through the same roads, by a good fortune, of which there are but few examples, escaped, with only twelve attendants, all the pursuits of his enemies. Nor indeed was I less fortunate myself: to the

* Claude, duke de la Trémouille.

artifices I had already made use of I added another, which succeeded wonderfully: I assumed the name of one of my brothers; and to make myself look more youthful, cut off my beard and mustaches. This, however, did not disguise me so well, but that through every place I passed, I could hear people about me say, that I perfectly resembled my brother the Huguenot. To avoid the questions that might be asked me, I acted the part of a zealous partizan of the league, spread the report of the prince of Condé's defeat,* and the rout of the Protestant forces by the duke de Joyeuse; by which means I arrived safe at Chateau-Rhenaud. The great difficulty was how to pass the Loire: yet this I accomplished, through the assistance of M. des Arpentis, who acted on this occasion like a true friend. I received, likewise, some services from M. de Montbazon, who as soon as I arrived at Montbazon, sent me a present of wine and fruit, and treated me with so much kindness in several other instances, that although I was known in this place, I complied with his entreaties, and staid there three days, which was no more than necessary, as our horses began to be greatly fatigued. By the death of M. de Montbazon,† which happened soon after, I was deprived of an opportunity of showing my gratitude to a man, who had the good of the state so nearly at heart.

Favoured by my new disguise, I traversed Chatelleraud and Poitiers. At Villefagnan,‡ meeting with a regiment of Swiss that was going to join the marshal de Matignon's army, I resolved to draw some advan-

* In Touraine.

† He was slain at the battle of Arques.

‡ Upon the confines of Poitou, and Saintonge.

tage from the rencounter: the Swiss were not displeased with any thing I said to them, because I always took care to provide them each morning with a repast; and I believe I might have depended upon them, had I even discovered my true name. I travelled with them four days. On passing the river at St. Marsaud,* I narrowly escaped being taken by an officer named Puiferat, who advanced with his regiment to the bank of the river, just as I was quitting the boat on the opposite side, which afforded me time to gain the house of M. de Neufvy.† At Marton‡ I went as usual, into the suburbs; but, through a strange foreboding, I fortunately returned into the city: for I was informed the next day, that the door of the stable in which my horses were supposed to be, had been burst open in the night by a petard: but the reflections I made upon this accident, did not prevent me from giving orders for my departure, when I was accosted by a stranger, who said to me, "Sir, I do not desire to know who you are: but if you are a Huguenot, and leave this place, you will perish: a few miles from hence there is an ambush of fifty horse, well armed, which I believe are waiting for you." I thanked the man for his kindness, without seeming discomposed by what he had told me, and answered coolly, that although I was not a Huguenot, yet to fall into an ambush, appeared to me to be always dangerous. I then returned to my inn, where pretending that one of my finest horses had hurt his

* A village in Saintonge.

† The youngest son, who was called Bertrand de Melet de Fayoles of Neufvy; for Magdelaine de Melet de Fayoles, lord of Neufvy, his elder brother, was in the party of the league.

‡ In Angoumois.

foot, I ordered them to be all unsaddled. That I might ascertain whether what I had heard was true, I sent one of my people, who could speak the dialect of Perigord, disguised like a peasant, te reconnoitre the ambush: he soon fell in with the fifty horsemen, and told them, in answer to the questions they asked respecting me, that my departure was deferred till the next day. On hearing this, they retired to a town two leagues from thence, whither he followed them, and then came back to me to make his report: I set out that moment, and after some other little adventures of the same kind, arrived at the house of M. de Longa, from whence I went to Bergerac, where the king of Navarre then was: he held me a long time embraced in his arms, and appeared extremely sensible of the dangers to which, through my attachment to him, I had exposed myself: he made me relate all the particulars relating to my journey, and particularly the adventure I had with the prince of Condé.

It is impossible to describe the king of Navarre's perplexity at this time: without troops, money, or succours, he saw three powerful armies marching against him. Those of the dukes of Maïenne and Joyeuse were advancing by forced marches: and he had the mashal de Matignon's army actually in front. The forty thousand franks I had brought with me, proved a very seasonable supply for him, as he could not have raised such a sum in his whole court. We marched towards Castillon and Montsegur,* which Matignon made a show of besieging: but he falling suddenly upon Castets, we were obliged to turn to that quarter,

* Cities of Gascony, in the bishopric of Aire.

and after a long and extreme cold march, for it was in the month of February, 1586, we arrived time enough to raise the siege.

The army of Guienne, commanded by the duke de Maïenne, advanced into that province, where it spread universal terror: the king of Navarre was at a loss how to act; for none of his towns to which he could retire, seemed sufficiently strong to resist the great force of the enemy. Some advised him to go into Languedoc, which he refused, as being out of his government, while others recommended him to pass over to England to procure succours in money, and then return by way of Germany, and bring with him the troops which were raised there for his assistance. The king wishing to know my opinion, I advised him to strengthen as much as possible, the different fortresses, and to appoint such governors as he could depend on, but to prevent jealousies, to leave a person of consequence chief of the whole: next, to watch the duke of Maïenne's motions, to see what his first plans were, and then with a body of soldiers sufficiently strong to keep the road open, to retire to Rochelle: by this means, instead of leaving the country he would rather approach nearer to Paris, and be in a situation to draw provisions and other supplies by sea, and if necessary, to embark for England or elsewhere: if this plan were adopted, I added, we made head against the enemy in four different quarters: the one under himself and the prince in Rochelle and its environs, the second under Montmorency in Languedoc, the third under Lesdiguieres in Dauphiny, and the fourth under M. de Turenne, in Guienne; this disposition, added to the foreign auxiliaries, if well conducted, would be sufficient

to keep the enemy in check. The king appoved of this advice, and declared he would follow it; "but," added he, "the duke of Maïenne is not so peevish a boy, but that he will permit me to walk up and down a little longer in Guienne." The next day he set off for Bearn, where certain affairs rendered his presence absolutely necessary.

IV. Henry staid but eight days at Bearn; during this interval, the two Catholic armies having joined, and seized all the passages by which they thought he could return to Poitou, he saw himself on the point of being shut up in Nerac; in this extremity he resolved to attempt all things, rather than not secure himself a passage;* he left Nerac, followed by two hundred horse, and took the road towards Castelgeloux;† when he had got half way thither, he separated his whole troop, and keeping only twenty of the most resolute and best mounted of us, and a like number of his guards, appointed Saintefoy‡ for a place of rendezvous for all the rest: then turning short, struck into a road amidst woods and heaths, with which he was well acquainted, having often hunted there, and arrived at Caumont,§ where he slept three hours. We passed the river after sun-set and marched all night through the enemy's quarters, and even over the moats of Marmande: after which, taking a bye-way near Sauvetat, we came, two hours before day break to Saintefoy, where all the rest of the men arrived also by different ways, without

* See this journey of the king of Navarre, and all the military expeditions on both sides in D'Aubigné, vol. III. Matthieu, vol. I. book xviii. Cayet, book i. and other historians.

† A city of the principality of Albret.

‡ A city of Guienne, upon the Dordogne.

§ Another city of Guienne.

the least loss, not even of their baggage. The duke of Maïenne, exasperated at this disappointment of his hopes, went to discharge all his rage upon Montignac le Comte,* where captain Roux, and serjeant More defended themselves so courageously against his whole army, as to obtain conditions.

The duke found less resistance in Sainte Bazeile:† Despueilles, the governor of this little town, was allied to the family of Courtenay, and had the reputation of a very brave man: which inspired me with an inclination to shut myself up with him, contrary to the advice of my relations and friends, who, without doubt, knew him much better than I did. The king of Navarre a long time refused me the permission I asked of him: at last, overcome by my importunity, he gave me thirty men, with whom I threw myself into Sante Bazeile. I found the place in a very bad condition, without ramparts, and the houses all built of clay, which the shot went quite through. However, it might have held out some time, but Despueilles being seized with fear, rejected all my advice, and was mad enough to put himself into the enemy's hands, who treated the city as they pleased. The king of Navarre, on the first confused reports he heard of this affair, was angry with us all: but when he was informed of the truth, the whole weight of his displeasure fell upon Despueilles, which was increased by this cowardly governor having the imprudence to tell him, when he presented himself before him to excuse his conduct, that if he had been there himself, he could not have acted otherwise. He was immediately put under arrest, from

* A city of Perigord upon the Vezere.

† A city of Bazadois upon the Dordogne.

which, eight days after, he was released, partly through our solicitations, and partly through the want the king had of his troop.

The king did not quit the field till he was reduced to the last extremity, and after having disputed the ground inch by inch. When he retreated, he threw the remains of his forces into Monségur,* Castillon, and Sainte-foy: I lent him six thousand livres more to fortify Mont-flanquin, where Bethune† commanded. At last, fearing some fatal accident on the side of Rochelle, he left a few troops in Guienne, under the command of the viscount de Turenne, and took the road to that city, by Pons, and Saint Jean d'Angely.‡

There were moments in which Henry III, enraged at the shameful part the league obliged him to act, wished ardently to find some means of revenging himself:§ but willing to do this without danger, he rejected always the thought which often presented itself to his mind, of calling in the king of Navarre and uniting with him. The deputies from the four Swiss Catholic cantons coming to Paris, to treat about the succours which some time before had been demanded of the republic, the king who was then in one of his temporary fits of anger against the league, resolved to make use of these Swiss, which, with the troops that were at his own disposal, and those he might expect from the king of Navarre, would form a body of men capable of bringing the league to reason. He wrote to the king of Navarre, and acquainting him with his new designs,

* Upon the Dordogne. † Florestan de Bethune.

‡ Cities of Saintonge.

§ It was in these moments that he said, as L'Etoile relates, *De inimicis meis vindicabo inimicos meos;* speaking of the leaguers, and the Huguenots.

desired him to send a person in whom he could confide, to confer with him upon the whole affair, and particularly upon the use they were to make of the Swiss. A blank passport was added to this letter, which the king of Navarre filling up with my name, obliged me to depart immediately.

I arrived at Saint Maur, where the court then was, and went to the house of Villeroy, with whom I dined, and staid the rest of that day, and on the next he presented me to the king. I shall never forget the fantastic and extravagant dress and attitude in which I found him in his cabinet: he had a sword at his side, a Spanish hood hung down upon his shoulders, a little cap, such as collegians wear, upon his head, and a basket, in which were two or three little dogs, hung to a ribband about his neck. He stood in so fixed a posture, that in speaking to us, he neither moved his head, hands, nor feet; he began by giving vent to his indignation against the league, which made me conclude he had received some new affront from it, and talked of his union with the king of Navarre, as a thing, the utility of which he was perfectly convinced of; but some remains of fear made him always add, that he looked upon it as impossible, while the king persisted in his resolutions of not changing his religion. I told the king in reply, that it would be in vain to propose such an expedient to the king of Navarre, who by agreeing to it must act against his conscience: but that, even supposing he were capable of doing so, it would not produce what his majesty hoped from it: that the motive by which the league was actuated, was neither a regard to public good, or to religion; that so precipitate an action would deprive the king of Navarre of all

the assistance he might expect from the Protestants, without drawing one man from the league: but, on the contrary, such a weakness would increase the pride of their common enemies. The king did not fail to answer my arguments: but I still persisted in maintaining, that the king of Navarre, by complying with the terms proposed to him, could bring only his own person to his aid, whereas, by uniting with him in the condition he was now in, without requiring the sacrifice of his religion, he would strengthen the king's party with a powerful body in the state. I spoke to the queen-mother in the same terms; and I perceived that they both felt the force of my arguments; and that it was the dread only of the change which an union with a prince of the reformed religion might produce, which prevented them from yielding. I did not, however, despair of prevailing upon them to strike this great blow, and by the not only gracious but free and open manner, in which their majesties acted towards me, I had reason to flatter myself I should succeed.

I left them in these favourable dispositions and went to Paris, to confer with the Swiss deputies, and brought them to my purpose with very little difficulty. It cost me nothing, but a trifling expense in provisions, especially wine: for which they promised, without any limitation, a body of ten thousand Swiss; four thousand of which were to stay in Dauphiny, and the other six thousand to be employed in the service, and at the discretion, of the two kings. The king of France again assured me by Mess. de Lenoncourt, de Poigny, and Brulart, that his sentiments were not altered, and that he passionately wished for the union: which was not less earnestly desired by the king of Navarre, who, in

the dispatches I received from him almost daily, exhorted me to use all my endeavours to accomplish it, and even to sacrifice for that purpose some part of his interest.

At my return to St. Maur, I asked the king of France what use he would make of the six thousand Swiss, and to what place he designed they should go. The king requested that they should be brought into the neighbourhood of Paris: and even if there was a necessity for it, serve him against the league. I foresaw all the inconveniencies that would attend a project of this kind, and did not accede to this proposition, but by the express command of the king of Navarre, who thought so small a matter ought not to retard their reconciliation. It will be soon seen whether this article was really of as little importance as was imagined, and what was the consequence of this imprudent compliance.

The treaty between the two kings being concluded upon the conditions above mentioned, I resolved to depart from court, leaving Marsilliere at Paris, under colour of continuing the negociation that had been begun: but he had only attended me to Paris, to take the first favourable opportunity of going to Germany, to facilitate, by the assistance of messieurs de Clairvant* and de Guitry, the departure of a body of German troops from thence, which the Protestants of those countries had promised the king of Navarre. This design Mansilliere executed very happily. I went to Rosny, where I staid but eight days with my wife; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who was extremely well satisfied with the success of my commission.

* Claude Antony de Vienne, lord of Clairvant.

This prince could not resolve to lie idle in Rochelle, and therefore prevailed with the inhabitants to furnish him with twelve hundred foot, two hundred horse, and three cannons: these he gave to the duke de la Tremouille, for the reduction of Talmont,* which he could not endure to see in the enemy's hands. I followed the duke de la Tremouille, with Mignonville, Fouquerolles, Bois-du-Lys, and some other officers. The town having no fortifications, we seized it without opposition, and began immediately to attack the castle, the walls of which were very strong, but had no works on the outside. Maroniere, who was governor of it, although he did not expect to be attacked, depended upon some speedy supplies that Malicorne† had engaged to bring him; which determined us to press the place vigorously. The passage by sea from Talmont to Rochelle is but six hours: I embarked for that place, to fetch a supply of powder, with which we were not sufficiently provided, and to inform the king of Navarre, that we should find it very difficult to succeed with so small a number of men. The king soon raised two thousand more in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, and embarked with them on board three vessels, which for two days were in danger of perishing: at length we arrived at Talmont, where the three vessels anchored, one after another, and the besieged learning that the king of Navarre conducted the attack in person, surrendered the place to him.

It was want of money that had prevented Malicorne from bringing supplies to the governor of Talmont: the king, therefore, being freed from this fear, drew off his troops in order to attack Chizai.‡ Fayolle, who com-

* A city of Lower Poitou. † John de Sourches, lord of Malicorne.

‡ In Upper Poitou, upon the Boutonne.

manded there, defended himself bravely. He made good use of a culverine, which was the only piece of artillery he had in the place: nor yielded till the last extremity. I took notice of a singular accident that happened there: the princess Catherine having sent the steward of her household with a letter to the king her brother, a bullet from this culverine went quite through the body of his horse, and came out at his breast, yet the beast continued standing near ten minutes after. Another shot from an arquebuse was the cause of a much greater misfortune: a gentleman charged with a verbal message to the king of Navarre, concerning some important affairs, was shot dead at the king's feet, having only had time to say that he came from Heidelberg, from messieurs de Clairvant and de Guitry. This officer was sent to inform the king, that the German horse and other Protestant troops from Germany, were ready to enter France, and to know of him through what place he thought it most proper they should march. Some were for their entering France, by Lorrain, where the league was very powerful: others maintained that they ought to take their rout by the Bourbonnois, from thence by Berry and Poitou, and the side of the Loire. Messieurs de Montmorency and de Chatillon were for keeping them in Languedoc and near the Rhone. Never was so great a diversity of opinions known, and unhappily the worst prevailed, which was to bring them in through Beauce: doubtless, because the king of France was willing to have them near him, that he might make use of them against the league, or at least to keep it in awe. It is not probable that the king of Navarre would have consented to this, but the accident that has been related was the cause of his being even ignorant of their contentions.

This prince, by a continuance of the same good fortune, took Sanzay, and afterwards St. Maixant;* the noise of five or six cannon, which till that time were seldom made use of in sieges, produced this effect. He took advantage of his success, and being reinforced with two hundred horse, and five hundred foot, which were brought him by the prince of Condé, and the count de la Rochefoucault,† whom he had just made colonel-general of his infantry, he believed himself strong enough to undertake the siege of Fontenay, the second place for strength in Poitou; although he was not ignorant that there was a brave governor, and a strong garrison in the place. The governor, whose name was La Roussiere, resolved to defend not only the city, but the suburb Des Loges also, which was larger and more magnificent than the city itself, and surrounded with a large moat; to which was added strong barricades, which closed up the entrance of the suburb. The king of Navarre sent La Rochefoucault, at the head of forty gentlemen, to attack the upper end of the suburb in a very dark night. I joined messieurs de Dangeau,‡ de Vaubrot, d' Avantigny, de Challandeau, de Feuquieres, de Brasseuses, Le Chene, and two or three others, and we posted ourselves at one side of the barricades, with our pikes in our hands, and our pistols at our girdles, with a design either to throw them down, or leap over them. Vaubrot, Avantigny, and I, were repulsed three times; but having fallen upon a large package of wine, and being determined on break-

* Other cities of Upper Poitou.

† Francis de la Rochefoucault, prince of Marsillac, son of him who was slain at the massacre of St. Bartholomew. He was killed in 1591.

‡ Lewis de Courcillon de Dangeau.

ing it open, we brought down upon us five or six hogsheads of dung, from which we with difficulty disengaged ourselves. Our party having at that instant forced the works, and the enemy seeing us masters of the barricade, thought of nothing but retreating, after having first set fire to it, to protract our pursuit, lest by following them too closely, we should, in their confusion, enter the city along with them.

We now took up our lodgings in the finest houses in the suburb, where we found all things in great abundance; the only inconvenience we suffered, was from the musketry of the place, which enfiladed the whole street from the terrace upon the top of the principal gate, and made the entrance to the king's and our own houses very dangerous; while the batteries upon the ramparts commanding all the avenues of the suburb, it was impossible to enter it without being exposed to continual discharges. One day, as I came out of my own house to go to the king's, which was the most beautiful in the suburb, a ball crushed my head-piece, just as Liberge, my valet de chambre, came up to tie it. I caused a rope to be instantly fastened across the street, and by means of some clothes that were hung over it, prevented the besieged from seeing at least those that passed.

We afterwards applied ourselves assiduously to the trenches and undermining. The king of Navarre took inconceivable pains in this siege: he conducted the miners himself, after he had taken all the necessary precautions to hinder supplies from entering without: the bridges, avenues, and all the roads that led to the city, were strictly guarded, as likewise great part of the surrounding country. One night, when I was

upon guard with twenty horse, at the ford of a river, I heard a noise like the rattling of arms, and trampling of horses at a distance, which made me conclude I should be attacked. This noise ceased for some minutes, then began again with more violence, and came so near, that I prepared for defence. I suffered the troop to approach within arm's length; but when we were just ready to fire, I perceived the occasion of our alarm to be a number of horses and mares with fetlocks on their legs, which were suffered to pasture in the extensive meadows around the place, and had come to water at the river. I was one of the first to laugh at this adventure; but in secret I was not sorry that I had given orders to the person whom I pitched upon to go for assistance, not to set out till after we should be engaged with our supposed enemy.

My principal employment during this siege was the conduct of the artillery. The mining was at last so far advanced, that we could hear the voices of the soldiers who guarded the parapets, from within the lodgement of the miners. The king of Navarre was the first who perceived this: he spoke, and made himself known to the besieged: who were so astonished at hearing him name himself from the bottom of these subterraneous places, that they asked leave to capitulate: the proposals were all made by this uncommon way: the articles were drawn up, or rather dictated by the king of Navarre, whose word was known by the besieged to be so inviolable, that they did not require a writing. They had no cause to repent of this confidence; the king of Navarre, charmed with so noble a proceeding granted the garrison military honours, and preserved the city from pillage. A poor

woman of the city having killed a fat hog on the day of the capitulation, and hearing that the garrison had surrendered, devised a pleasant stratagem, to deprive the rapacious soldiers of their prey. She made her husband hide himself, and wrapping the dead animal in a sheet, laid it, by the help of some friends, in a coffin, and by her cries drew all her neighbours about her. The mournful preparations for a funeral gave them to understand the cause of her lamentations; the priests were deceived as well as others. One of them conducted the funeral procession across the suburbs, into a churchyard without the city, by the king of Navarre's permission. The ceremonies being over, and night set in, some persons posted by the woman near the grave, came to take up the dead animal, and carry it into the city; but they were perceived by some soldiers, who driving them from thence, discovered the truth, and seized the prey. One may easily imagine the secret was not well kept; it was soon known all over the city; a priest, to whom the woman had made her confessions, having published the adventure every where.

The king of Navarre leaving the lord of La-Boulaye* governor in Fontenai, went to seize the abbey of Maillezais, the situation of which he found so advantageous, that he resolved to make it a regular fortress, and ordered me to draw a plan of it: Davailles, a relation of La-Boulaye, was appointed to guard it. His troops took Mauleon likewise, and afterwards the castle of La-Garnache;† from whence Monsieur de Genevois‡ drove his own mother. She retired to

* Charles Echalard, lord of La-Boulaye.

† Other strong places in the Lower Poitou.

‡ D'Aubigne explains this better, vol. III. b. i. c. x. "The lady of La-Garnache," says he, "sister to the duke of Rohan, held the town of La-

Beauvois, a little city upon the sea-side, whither her son still pursued her, but this time he fell into her hands, and she in her turn made him prisoner of war.

I was not present at the three last mentioned places: the melancholy news I received from Rosny obliged me to go thither. During my stay at St. Maur, I obtained a protection from the king of France for my castle and estate of Rosny, together with the necessary passports for going thither when I pleased. It was this liberty that made me easy with regard to my wife, at a time when every kind of outrage against the Protestants was allowed. I learnt that the town had lately been almost wholly depopulated by the plague: my wife had lost the greatest part of her domestics; and fear having obliged her to fly into the neighbouring forests, she had there passed two days and nights in her coach, and had afterwards taken refuge in the castle of Huet, belonging to madame de Compagnac, my aunt. Her joy, when she knew I was so near her, gave way to her fears of the danger I incurred by coming amongst persons infected with the plague; and thinking to force me to return, she ordered the gates to be shut upon me. She had too much occasion for assistance and consolation to be abandoned in that condition; I entered, notwithstanding her resistance, and staid there a month, having only two gentlemen and as many domestics with me, breathing the air of the

Garnache, and the castle of Beauvois upon the sea in neutrality. Her son, called prince de Genevois, by his mother's marriage with the duke of Nemours, seized La-Garnache by means of a correspondence he held with the domestics. He made the same attempt upon Beauvois, but he was taken prisoner by his mother. The result of all which was, that the king of Navarre interesting himself in procuring his liberty, obtained it, and by the same means the place.

country in freedom, (for the report of the plague kept all troublesome visitors from my house,) and amusing myself with drawing plans of houses, making extracts from books, working in my garden, and sometimes shooting birds, hares, and other game. My wood-merchants still owed me twenty-four thousand livres, and I sent one of my secretaries to Paris to request the payment of it; but the persecution which was declared against the Protestants put me entirely in their power; and the fear lest this money, together with my estates, should be confiscated for the use of the league, obliged me to be contented with ten thousand livres, which was all he could obtain.

As soon as the contagion ceased, I carried my wife back to Rosny, after having taken the necessary precautions to purify the house; but left her soon after on hearing that the duke de Joyeuse, whose march had hitherto been slow, and his operations very inconsiderable, was advancing hastily to drive the king of Navarre from Poitou. This prince had just then been repulsed before Niort and Parthenai; and finding it impossible to keep all his fortresses against forces so superior to his own, he caused the greatest part of them to be rased and dismantled, and preserved only Fontenai, Talmont, Maillezais, and St. Maixant.* He afterwards retreated to Rochelle, where I found him.

The treaty of alliance between the two kings, which was mentioned above, seeming to promise a more favourable event, the reader is, no doubt, impatient to know the success: it was now no longer talked of: in one moment the whole design was overthrown. This proceeding of the court was certainly very extraordi-

* All these places are in Poitou.

nary, and will appear a mystery absolutely incomprehensible to those who know not what changes a prince, who delivers himself up to irresolution, idleness, and timidity, is capable of assuming: in affairs of state, nothing is more dangerous than a mind thus fluctuating and undetermined. In difficult situations, all things ought not to be trusted to chance, nor ought it to be wholly neglected; but after having, by wise and cool reflections, fixed upon a particular design, every step that is taken ought to be directed towards its accomplishment. A necessary peace cannot be too earnestly desired, nor concluded too soon; but in critical circumstances nothing ought to be more carefully avoided, than keeping the people's mind in suspense, between peace and war. It was not by maxims like these that Catherine's counsellors conducted themselves; if they formed any resolution, it lasted but for the moment, and was never persevered in; and so timorously was it made, that it afforded even but a very imperfect remedy for the present evil. The error of minds taken up in little trifling intrigues, and in general, of all those that have more vivacity than judgment, is to represent to themselves near objects, in such a manner, as to be dazzled by them, and to view those at a distance as through a cloud: a few moments or days make up their futurity.

To this fault of never being able to determine upon any thing, the king, or rather the queen-mother, added another still greater;* this was the use of I know not what kind of little affected dissimulation, or rather a

* It has been asserted, that the interests of the Roman Catholic religion had no part in the politics of this queen. Witness these words which she was heard to say, when she thought the battle of Dreux was lost, "Well! we must pray to God then in French."

wretched study of hypocrisy and deceit, without which she imagined her politics could not subsist: the first of these errors concealing from us the misfortune with which we are threatened, and the last tying the hands of those who might assist us to prevent it. What can one expect but to be ruined by it sooner or later? and this was what happened to Henry III, from his not resolving to make use of the remedy that was offered him, I mean the junction of his troops with those of the king of Navarre, by which means he might have crushed the enemies of his authority; but he hesitated to do this, though he did do it in the end, till he was reduced to an extremity which might have been as fatal to the royal name as shameful to the memory of this prince.

Catherine had recourse to her usual artifices, and thought she performed a great deal, because she endured the fatigue of a long journey: she went into Poitou, and had several conferences with the king of Navarre at Coignac, Saint-Brix, and Saint Maixant.* Sometimes she endeavoured to allure him, at others to intimidate him with the sight of the considerable forces which were about to fall upon him, and whose operations, she told him, she had hitherto suspended. In a

* The queen asking him what he would have? he replied, looking at the young ladies she had brought with her, "There is nothing there, madam, "that I would have." Perefixe's History of Henry the Great. Matthieu adds, that Catherine pressing him to make some overture, "Madam," said he, "there is no overture here for me," vol. I. book viii. p. 518. This interview was at St. Brix, on the 25th of September. "He was hunting "one day at Saint Brix, and wanting to show that his horse was more lively "than two very fine ones belonging to Belliévre, a herd of pigs behind a "hedge frighted his horse, which threw him, and fell upon him; he lay sense- "less, bleeding at the nose and mouth. He was carried as dead into the "castle; however, two or three days after he recovered." Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 588.

word, she forgot nothing which she thought might induce him to change his religion. This, however, is certain, that it was not without regret she saw the league in a condition to oppress the king of Navarre, because it was not her interest that his ruin should be accomplished by that means; but what security did she give this prince by the rash and unseasonable measures she wished to engage him in? Had he not reasons to believe, that the proposal she was constantly making him to renounce his religion, was, in reality, but an artful snare to deprive him of the assistance of the Protestants, to make him countermand the troops which he expected from Germany, to draw him to court, to ruin him, and afterwards all his adherents? I have particular proofs which justified this idea; for those conferences at which I was present with the king, not affording me the means of clearing my doubts, I held private ones, by his orders, with the ladies d'Uzes, and de Sauves, who were better acquainted with Catherine's inclinations than any other persons, and by whom I was loved with so much tenderness, that they always called me their son. In order to come to the knowledge of their real sentiments, I pretended to be well convinced of what indeed I only suspected, and complained that the queen-mother made use of all her endeavours to sacrifice the king of Navarre to the league. These two ladies confessed to me, in confidence, that they believed religion was only a pretence with Catherine, and that affairs were in such a state, that the king of Navarre could no otherwise extricate himself from his difficulties, but by the force of arms. They assured me afterwards, that they saw with grief the bad dispositions of the council towards this prince.

These words I have always believed to be sincere, although spoke in a court where, next to gallantry, nothing was so much cultivated as falsehood.

V. Whatever were the queen-mother's* intentions, she returned without obtaining any thing; and Joyeuse with an army took her place. The command of an army entrusted to Joyeuse was a second mystery: was it to mortify the heads of the league, who had better pretensions to this command than him, or to ruin them entirely, if the new general had succeeded? or was it, on the contrary, the discovery of his connexions with the league, that induced the king to give him a post, wherein he was assured this ungrateful man would perish, or at least miscarry? or was it only to remove a favourite, whom a rival had deprived of the king's affections? for it is often a mere trifle, that produces effects which are always attributed to the most serious causes: but was it not rather to enhance the lustre of his favour by so distinguished an employment? Such was the spirit of the court, that conjectures the most opposite were supported by equal probabilities. What seems, however, to determine in favour of the last supposition, is, that the army which Joyeuse commanded was composed of the best forces in the kingdom, was filled with the flower of the nobility, and plentifully provided with whatever could contribute towards rendering it victorious.

* "After a long conversation, the queen-mother asking him if the trou-
"ble she had been at was to produce no effect, she who loved nothing so
"much as quietness; he answered, 'Madam, I am not the cause of it; it
"is not I that hinders you from sleeping in your bed, it is you that prevents
"me from resting in mine; the trouble you give yourself pleases and nour-
"ishes you; peace is the greatest enemy of your life." Perefixe, part i.

The king of Navarre employed himself chiefly in putting Saint Maixant in a condition of defence; he went thither with so much haste and precipitation, that yielding to sleep and fatigue, he was unable to keep his horse, and was obliged, on his return to Rochelle, to throw himself into a waggon drawn by oxen, which was going thither. To prevent the provision with which he had stored Saint-Maixant from being consumed, he ordered the two regiments of Charbonnieres* and Des Bories, which had been appointed to defend it, to be posted at La Motte Sainte-Eloi, and there to wait the enemy's arrival. But all these precautions could not prevent the reduction of the latter place, and its castle, nor that of Saint-Maixant, Maillezais, and many others, any more than the defeat of several companies, amongst others that belonging to Despueilles, which was beat almost within sight of Rochelle. The cruel behaviour of the conquerors made these misfortunes still more affecting; all we could do in revenge, was to fall upon the waggons, and the stragglers, during the marches of this army.

One day, as the duke of Joyeuse led his army back from Saintes to Niort, after having taken Tonne-Charente, I posted myself with fifty horse in the forest of Benon, near the great road, to wait for an opportunity of striking some blow. A soldier whom I had directed to climb up a tree, to observe the order and motions of the enemy's army, told us, that he saw a detachment advancing some paces before the first battalions. Those who accompanied me were for falling upon this detachment, which they supposed it would not be difficult to subdue before any assistance

* Gabriel Prevot of Charbonnieres.

could come up to it. I did not relish this proposal; I remembered a maxim of the king of Navarre, that to attack a party when the whole army was near, seldom succeeded; and I restrained the ardour of my troop, who burned with an eager desire to come to blows with them. We saw this detachment pass by, and afterwards the whole army, the battalions of which we could easily count. The last ranks marched so close, that I was of opinion nothing was to be done; but as we were ready to make our retreat, the sentinel informed us, that he saw two small squadrons of fifty or sixty horse each marching at a great distance from each other. I would have suffered the first to pass by, but it was impossible now to restrain the impetuosity of the soldiers; we therefore fell upon them with such fury, that we left twelve or fifteen dead upon the place, took as many prisoners, and the rest saved themselves by flight. But how greatly was I mortified at not having followed my own opinion, when I found the second troop was composed of fifty of the principal officers of the Catholic army, with the duke de Joyeuse himself at their head, he having stopped at Surgeres* to take some refreshments. When I gave the king of Navarre an account of this action he told me, smiling, that he perceived I was willing to spare the duke's squadron, on account of my two brothers who were with him. Whilst Joyeuse staid at Niort, one of my brothers came to Rochelle to see the king, and during his stay, I showed him the ramparts and every thing remarkable in the place. I went to Niort soon after, to settle the terms of a combat that had been proposed between the Albanois of captain Mercure's

* A town in the country of Aunis.

company, and a like number of Scots under the command of Ouïmes; but the duke de Joyeuse would not allow it to take place.

I found this general gloomy and discontented, and guessed so truly the cause of his uneasiness, that when he told me he should soon set out for Montresor, I replied, without hesitation, that he could go very easily from thence to the court. At these words he turned towards my brother, and accused him of having revealed what had passed. When he knew that this was not the case, he imagined his disgrace was certain, since the report of it had already reached Rochelle: and it was this, I believe, that confirmed him in his resolution to go and destroy, by his presence, the cabals of his enemies. However, he concealed his sentiments, and coolly answered, that I suffered myself to be deceived by my too great discernment; and endeavoured to persuade me, that he had no intention of returning to Paris: but I was so well assured of the contrary, that I went back immediately to the king of Navarre, to concert with him the proper measures for drawing some advantage from an absence which would leave the Catholic army without leaders; for I did not doubt but many of the general officers would make this journey likewise: indeed, Joyeuse had no sooner set out than his whole army, already badly disciplined, lived without order and obedience.

The king of Navarre, who had secretly assembled twelve hundred men, which he had drawn out of his garrisons, fell so seasonably upon the companies of Vic, Bellemaniere, the marquis of Resnel, Ronsey, and Pienne, and even upon that of the duke de Joyeuse, that finding part of them in bed, and part at the

table, he cut them all in pieces. He oftener than once alarmed the whole army, which was now under the command of Lavardin. He followed it to La Haye in Touraine,* and found means to keep it, as it were, besieged, for four or five days. If, on this occasion, he had had forces sufficient to have enabled him to keep his post longer, it is my opinion, that hunger would have delivered the whole army into his power. The soldiers spreading themselves over the villages, and neglecting their safety in order to get provisions, we passed the river, and surprised them every moment.

During this short space of time, we killed and took above six hundred men. With six horse only, I went into a village full of soldiers; they were so accustomed to be beaten, that I ordered the arms of those who were at the tables, and upon the beds, to be seized, and their matches to be put out, without their offering to repulse us, although they were forty in number. I brought them to the king of Navarre, and they enlisted in his service.

The count of Soissons†, who was discontented with the court, had long given the king of Navarre hopes, that he would come over to his party, and Henry neglected nothing that could keep him in this favourable disposition. The negligence of the Catholic army afforded them both the opportunity they waited for. The count of Soissons took the road towards the Loire, and the king of Navarre sent all his troops to Rosiers, to

* Upon the confines of Poitou.

† Charles de Bourbon, fourth son of Lewis I, prince of Condé, and brother to Henry I, prince of Condé, of Francis, prince of Conti, and of the young cardinal, Charles de Bourbon, but by another mother, Frances d'Orleans de Longueville.

facilitate the prince's passage over the river. They served him likewise to seize the baggage of the duke de Mercœur; the body of troops which escorted it, was attacked so suddenly, that they surrendered without striking a blow, and the baggage, which was extremely rich, was entirely pillaged; my part of the booty amounted to two thousand crowns in money, horses, and other articles, and one of my secretaries gained two hundred crowns. My brothers were no longer in this army; I had obtained a passport for them to leave La Haye; this service was repaid by another of the same kind; they procured me a passport to Paris, whither a pressing occasion called me. At this time the persecution against the Protestants was at its height: on which ever side they turned, inevitable ruin awaited them: in the villages, where every one became a soldier in order to pillage, their houses could not secure them from the fury of their persecutors; and in Paris, and other great cities, they were exposed to rigorous search, which the zeal of religion inspired, and the desire of being enriched by their spoils made but too severely executed. Princes will often see themselves subjected to misfortunes like these, while they know not how far their rights and duties with regard to religion extend. They cannot punish with too much severity, a crime by which nature, society, or the laws, are wounded. A religion that is capable of authorising such actions, becomes necessarily the object of all the rigour of their justice; and then only is religion subjected to the power of crowned heads: but their jurisdictions does not extend over consciences, in that precept which regards our love of God, the different comments of which form the difference of religions:

the sovereign Lord of all reserves to himself whatever relates to speculation, and leaves to princes all that tends to destroy the common practice of it. Ignorance, or contempt of this maxim wast he cause of great misery to the Protestants: those whose estates were large enough to admit of their living in Paris, chose that as the least dangerous way, because of the ease with which they could keep themselves unknown in a city so full of tumult and confusion.

My wife had retired thither some time, having used the precaution to take a feigned name: she was just delivered of a son, to whom I gave for godfather the lord of Rueres, then a prisoner in the Conciergerie, and the child was carried from the baptismal font to church, by a citizen named Chaufaille, and his wife: for the Protestants did not cease to meet in churches, and hold assemblies, notwithstanding the severe informations that were made against them. At this very time, several women were burnt for their religion: the dangers I myself ran were extremely great, and I avoided them only by not being known, which was indeed an amazing instance of good fortune. At last, the number of spies increasing in all parts of the city, the search was so diligent, that nothing could escape: I did not think it possible to stay any longer in Paris, without exposing myself to evident danger: I therefore left it alone, and in disguise, and fled to Villepreux, from whence I took a bye-road to Rosny.

VI. The duke de Joyeuse had been received in Paris with praises and acclamations, which ought to have made him blush in secret for not having deserved them. They did not, however, prevent him from being sensibly affected with the defeat of his army, of which he

was soon informed. He endeavoured by all possible means to make satisfaction for this loss, which in the disposition the king was in with regard to him, was not a difficult task. His arrival had disconcerted all the secret practices of his enemies, and his favour* with Henry was risen to such a height, that he could refuse him nothing. All the courtiers attached themselves to him, and he set out again for Guienne with the flower of the French nobility, while several other bodies of troops, taking separate ways, assembled at the rendezvous he had appointed for them.

These different marches of the troops made the roads so dangerous, that I found no other means of returning to Rochelle, but by altering the date of my passport, the term of which was expired. By this little artifice I got safe to the king of Navarre, whom I found employed in taking measures to prevent the dreadful storm he saw ready to burst upon him. He drew together all the soldiers he could find in Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, and sent orders to the prince of Condé, the count of Soissons, messieurs de Turenne, de la Trémouille, and Rochefoucault, to join him with the whole of the forces they had: yet, with all these supplies, his troops were greatly inferior to those of the duke de Joyeuse; they only served to put him in a condition of opening a way through Guienne, Languedoc, and the Lyonnois towards the source of the Loire, where he depended upon meeting the German auxiliaries. He employed all his skill to accom-

* "In his embassay to Rome, he was treated as the king's brother: he "had a heart worthy of his great fortune. One day having made the two "secretaries of state wait too long in the king's anti-chamber, he excused "himself by resigning up to them a hundred thousand crowns which the "king had just given him." Notes upon the Henriade.

plish this junction, before the troops of Joyeuse were united; he therefore advanced with his army towards Montlieu, Montguyon, and La Roche-Chalais,* but always closely followed and watched by the enemy's general, who having penetrated into his design, thought he ought not to wait for the arrival of the marshal de Matignon, nor of several other regiments that were coming to join him, lest he should lose an opportunity, which he might never be able to recover. His forces were already so much superior to the king of Navarre's, that this resolution could not be called rashness or temerity; and the king, who never hazarded a dangerous action, but when obliged to it by necessity, instead of seeking the battle, thought of nothing but how to get the river between them, that he might pursue his march without opposition, and gain the Dordogne, upon which he had several strong forts, which might stop the enemy's pursuit.

With these dispositions on both sides, the king of Navarre arrived at the pass of Chalais and Aubeterre. It was of great importance to him to gain Coutras,† a post that might favour this passage, and no less to Joyeuse to hinder it. He sent Lavardin to possess himself of it: but La Trémouille, being more diligent, anticipated him, and maintained himself in it, after a very sharp skirmish. The king of Navarre resolved to take advantage of this post to attempt the pass, and marched thither in the night, reserving to himself the care of conducting the troops over, and left that of the

* Cities upon the borders of Saintonge, of Guienne, and Perigord, as were Chalais, and Aubeterre.

† Coutras, a city of Guienne, upon the borders also of Perigord, at the confluence of the rivers Lille and Droume.

baggage, particularly the artillery, to Clermont, Bois-du-Lys, Mignonville, and myself. As it was necessary to make use of all possible dispatch, we set ourselves to work immediately, having the water up to our knees. One half was already got to the other side of the river, when the scouts, whom the king of Navarre had sent during the night to make discoveries, returned with some prisoners they had taken, and informed us, that Joyeuse having resolved to force the king of Navarre to a battle, had marched all night, and would be up with him at furthest by seven or eight o'clock in the morning. This intelligence convinced the king that our labour was not only useless, but extremely dangerous, because if found by the enemy employed in passing the river, that part of his troops which should remain on this side of it must be inevitably defeated, as it could receive no assistance from those on the other. Those, therefore, who had already got over, were ordered to return immediately. Our labour was now redoubled, and to add to it, we lost Mignonville,* for whom the king had occasion. Although we were extremely weakened by the fatigue we had suffered, yet that did not hinder the king from pointing out to us an eminence, upon which he expressed a wish that his artillery should be placed, but durst not hope that we should have time to gain it. Indeed, we already discovered the enemy's van. Luckily Joyeuse, who, without doubt, was not sufficiently acquainted with the ground, or suffered himself to be

* Mignonville, who was slain soon after before Nonancour, when Henry IV stormed that city. He was marshal de camp, and an excellent officer. Henry had a great number of subaltern officers of uncommon merit and abilities in his army; such were Montgomery, Bellezuns, Montausier, Vaudoré, Des Ageaux, Favas, whom the historians, in relating this battle, have mentioned with honour.

too far transported by his ardour, had given orders for placing his artillery in so low a situation, that afterwards finding it would be useless, he caused it to be removed, and by that means gave us time to place our own. It must be confessed, that this general, by some means or other, derived but little advantage from his artillery, and that this was one of the chief causes of his losing the battle. This shows, that there is nothing more necessary for the general of an army, than an exact and piercing sight, which shortens distances, and prevents confusion. I never knew a general that possessed this quality in an equal degree with the king of Navarre.*

The battle† was already begun before our artillery, which consisted only of three pieces of cannon, was stationed, and we had soon occasion for it. The troops in monsieur de Turenne's quarter behaved very ill: those of La Trémouille were forced in the first shock, which was beginning to throw the whole army into disorder. The Catholics cried out "Victory!" and indeed they wanted but little of being victorious: but at the same moment our artillery began to play, and so

* Le Grain makes him pronounce this military harangue to his soldiers; "My friends, behold here a prey much more considerable than any of your former booties; it is a bridegroom, who has still the nuptial portion in his pocket, and all the chief courtiers with him." Dec. of Henry the Great, book iv.

† It began the 20th of October, at nine o'clock in the morning, and was over at ten. The victory was complete, five thousand of the enemy were left dead upon the field, and five hundred taken prisoners. In the king of Navarre's army, there were but very few soldiers slain, and not one prisoner of distinction. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Mem. of Du Plessis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 533. Father Daniel, in his History of France, vol. IX. 4to. gives an exact description of the battle of Coutras.

terrible* was the fire, that every discharge carried away twelve, fifteen, and sometimes five and twenty men. It immediately put a stop to the impetuosity of the enemy, and reduced them to such an extremity, that seeking to avoid the fire, they dispersed, and offered only a disorderly and ill-sustained body to the efforts of the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the count of Soissons, who scoured the field at the head of three squadrons. These three princes† performed prodigies of valour in this battle; they overthrew all that opposed them, and exposed themselves like the meanest of the soldiers, as their battered armour sufficiently testified. The face of things was soon changed, and the death of the Catholic general‡ gave the Protestants a complete victory. As soon as I saw the enemy routed, I abandoned the cannon, which were now useless, and mounting a horse which Bois-Breuil kept ready for me at a short distance, I flew to learn tidings of my brothers, and I had the consolation to hear that neither of them had been in the battle. I met the king of Navarre on the other side of Garenne,

* "The first fire of the artillery," says Le Grain, "carried off seven captains of the regiment of Picardy, the best and most warlike in the duke's army." Book iv.

† "All I shall say to you," said the king of Navarre to them, "is, that you are of the house of Bourbon, and please God, I will show you, that I am your eldest brother." His valour was that day far superior to all the others. He wore a plume of white feathers on his helmet, to make himself conspicuous. Some of his friends throwing themselves before him, to defend and cover his person, he cried, "Give me room, I beseech you; you stifle me; I wish to be seen." He forced the first ranks of the enemy, took several prisoners with his own hand, and collared an officer named Château Regnard, cornet of a company of foot, saying, "Yield thee, Philistine." Perefixe, ibid.

‡ Slain in cold blood, by La Mothe St. Henry; others say, by two captains of foot, named Bordeaux and Descentiers.

with his sword in his hand, dripping with blood, and following up his successes:* as soon as he saw me, he cried out—"Well, my friend, this blow will destroy "the notion that the Huguenots never gain a battle, "for the victory here is complete, the whole of the "enemy's army being either killed, taken, or routed: "but the glory belongs only to God, for they were "double our numbers." The bodies of Joyeuse and St. Sauveur,† his brother, were drawn from beneath a heap of carcases, and carried to the castle of Coutras, in the hall of which I saw them, the day after the battle, lying on a table with only a coarse sheet thrown over them.‡

* Some persons seeing the fugitives halt, came and told him, that the marshal de Matignon's army was in sight: he received these tidings as a new subject of glory, and turning courageously to his men, 'Let us go, my friends,' said he: 'two battles in one day, is what has never before been seen.' Perefixe, ibid.

† Claude de Joyeuse, the youngest of seven sons of William, duke de Joyeuse.

‡ The following is an anecdote, the truth of which I cannot answer for, though the reader may not be displeased to see it here; I met with it in the Memoirs of Amelot de la Houssaye, vol. II, p. 443, who relates it as taken from the history of the lords of Enghien, by Colins: "The king of Navarre gained the victory, to the great satisfaction of the king of France, who secretly corresponded with the victorious army, through the faithful interposition of the marquis of Rosny, of the house of Bethune, now duke of Sully, who remained unknown at Paris." This author seems to have been acquainted with the duke of Sully's secret negociations with Henry III, already mentioned; but what he is mistaken in is, that these negociations produced no effect, that the duke de Joyeuse was still highly favoured by this prince, at least if we may believe monsieur de Sully, who ought to know better than any other: that Sully could not be at Paris, because he was at the battle; and that even the last journey he took there, some time before, had no other object than the desire of seeing and assisting his wife.

BOOK III.

1587 to 1590.

I. Errors committed by the king of Navarre and the Protestants, after the battle of Coutras. Secret designs of the prince of Condé, the count of Soissons, and the viscount Turenne. Death of the prince of Condé. Insurrection of the Parisians, and its consequences. Assassination of the duke and cardinal of Guise. Death of Catherine de Medicis.—II. The pusillanimity of Henry III, with respect to the league; Rosny negociates a treaty of alliance between the two kings; is disgusted on the occasion; interview of the two kings. The duke of Maienne sits down before Tours; military exploits on both sides; battle of Fosseuse, at which Rosny is present. Death of madame de Rosny. Military successes of the two kings; siege of Paris; death of Henry III; particulars of his assassination.—III. Henry IV asks counsel of Rosny; perplexing situation of this prince; the dispositions of the several officers in the royalist army with respect to him. Rosny surprises Meulan. Military expeditions. A particular account of the battle of Arques, at which Rosny was present; skirmishes at Pollet; Henry IV often in danger. An attempt upon Paris; rencounters and sieges of different places. Digression upon these Memoirs.—IV. Siege of Meulan; a Spanish army in France; Rosny defends Passi; the battle of Ivry; Rosny often in great danger; is wounded in several places; is carried by his own orders to Rosny; Henry the Fourth's affectionate behaviour towards him there.

I. THAT the Protestant party might have derived great advantages from the victory of Coutras, and that they did not, is equally true. I must candidly confess, that the king of Navarre did not, upon this occasion, do all he might have done: with a victorious army, and master of the field, if he had advanced to meet the foreign auxiliaries, nothing could have prevented their junction: and, after so important a blow, his party would have at least been equal to the Catholics. It is certain, that the true value of a moment is never

known, the wisest are deceived.* The ambitious designs, and self-interested views of several of the leaders in the victorious army, snatched from the king of Navarre, the fruits of his victory: but this is a truth few people are acquainted with.

The prince of Condé being seduced by the advice of Trémouille,† thought the time was now come when he could execute the bold scheme he had long before meditated, which was to deprive the crown of France of Anjou, Poitou, the countries of Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, to compose of them an independent sovereignty. With this view, he hastily withdrew the troops he had brought to the general army, and turned all his thoughts to the reduction of Saintes and Brouage, which, he flattered himself, he should be master of at the first alarm: and that afterwards, nothing would be able to oppose him. So true it is that ambition resembles that bird in the fable, who has a strong wing, and an insatiable hunger.‡

* Our best historians agree in these two things, that the king of Navarre knew not how to take advantage of his victory, and that he did not do all he might have done. D'Aubigné is almost the only person who exculpates this prince's officers, and lays the blame wholly upon himself. Vol. III. b. i. c. xv.

† Claude duke of Tremouille.

‡ The duke of Sully does not agree here with D'Aubigné, Du Plessis Mornay, and the author of the life of the duke of Bouillon; it is probable he had better information than them all, with regard to the design he attributes to the prince and the duke on this occasion: but I am afraid there was some prejudice and passion on his side. In my opinion, Monsieur de Thou is better able than any other person to decide this question: speaking of the consequences of the battle of Coutras, he says, that a council being assembled to deliberate upon what measures were necessary to be taken, the prince of Condé proposed, that they should go to meet the foreign troops along the side of the Loire, and secure them a passage over that river, by seizing Saumur; that this advice was not followed, for reasons which he relates, and which are very bad ones; and it was agreed only,

The viscount Turenne having the like designs upon the Limosin, and Perigord, where he already possessed great estates, pursued the same conduct with the prince of Condé; and obliging all his troops (which alone composed one-third of the army) to follow him, led them to the siege of Sarlat, flattering them with hopes that this expedition would enrich even the meanest soldier. He fully justified the proverb, that great

that the prince of Condé should go, with what troops they could spare him, to join the German army towards the source of the Loire, taking his way through the heart of Angoumois and Limosin. That the king of Navarre, on his side, seeing himself abandoned by the greatest part of the nobility of Poitou and Saintonge, marched towards St. Foi in Agenois from whence he took the route to Pau, leaving the conduct of his little army to the viscount de Turenne, who not willing to let the soldiers be idle, besieged Sarlat in Perigord, designing at least to lay it under contribution, if he could not take it. This is what De Thou says, to which may be added, a very important circumstance, and at the same time a very true one, since neither the duke of Bouillon, nor his apologists, could contradict it; which is, that it was the viscount himself who rejected the prince of Condé's prudent advice. From all this it follows, that the prince of Condé was not guilty of what he is here accused of: which is further confirmed by D'Aubigné, who adds, that it was upon a promise the king of Navarre made him to join him soon, that he advanced to Angoumois, where he waited a long time to no purpose. The prince, however, is not cleared of having had likewise views of independence, of which no historian doubts.

Although the viscount Turenne appears to have acted upon this occasion in consequence of the resolution of a general council; yet, in my opinion, we are not the less authorised to think disadvantageously of him. It is bad reasoning in Marsolier to grant on one side, that he was instigated by his ambition to wicked designs, and on the other, to complain, that those designs are supposed the motives of his conduct. This is to destroy the idea he would give us of the duke of Bouillon, as of the greatest politician of his time. These rash judgments are condemned by religion, but are allowed by the laws of history; and political conjectures are often reduced to this foundation alone.

As for what is said in the same place against the count of Soissons, it is, and will be still farther supported hereafter by unanswerable proofs. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Memoirs Du Plessis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. chap. xv. Marsolier's History of Henry duke of Bouillon, vol. I. book iii.

promisers perform the least; the check he received from this little paltry town ought to have convinced him at once of the vanity of his pretentions. The viscount had no one to accuse but himself for this misfortune, as he had acted quite contrary to the advice of the king of Navarre.

The count of Soissons concealed his designs with more art; however, it is certain, that his new attachment to the king of Navarre was not sincere, and that it was interest alone which induced him to it. He had gained the heart of the princess Catherine, the king's sister, and he was continually expressing to Henry, the earnest desire he had of uniting himself more closely to him by marriage; but this design concealed another too shameful for him to suffer it to appear: by this marriage he thought to make himself master of all the king of Navarre's rights: and as he saw no probability that this prince, having the pope, Spain, and the French Catholics for his enemies, could ever accomplish his designs, he depended upon enriching himself with his spoils, and upon gaining, at least, the great estates which make up the appendage of the house of Albret on this side of the Loire. Such being his intentions, he took care neither to assist him with his advice nor his arms to push his last victory farther; on the contrary, he seized that moment to press him so earnestly to take him to Bearn to visit the princess his sister, that the king, seeing himself in a more destitute condition than if he had lost the battle, thought he was obliged, in gratitude for the assistance the count had given him, to grant him this favour. He yielded the more readily to the journey, from a passion which had always been the weakness of this prince: love called him back to

the countess of Guiche, to lay at her feet the colours he had taken from the enemy, which he had caused to be reserved for that purpose. They accordingly set out together for Bearn. Happily this unseasonable journey did not produce all the evils which might have been reasonably expected from it: it was so far of use to the king of Navarre, as to give him a more perfect knowledge of the person on whom he was about to bestow his sister; the count of Soissons could not so well dissemble his sentiments, but that the king guessed at some part of them; and a letter, which he received from Paris, fully revealed them. By this letter he was informed, that the count of Soissons had taken this step purely at the instigation of the ecclesiastics, who had fallen upon this stratagem to deprive the king of all his possessions; that the count had solemnly sworn to them, that, as soon as he had married the princess, he would bring her with him to Paris, and abandon for ever the cause of his benefactor, and afterwards concert measures with them to finish the rest. The king of Navarre received this letter at his return from hunting, when he was just ready to fall into the snare that was laid for him; and it gave him an aversion to the count, which nothing has ever been able to remove. He broke with him, and regretted too late, that he had abandoned himself to his advice.

I had not the mortification of being a witness to all these resolutions which were taken after the battle of Coutras, and which I should in vain have opposed. Some days before these extravagant and senseless schemes had possessed the minds of the principal officers in our army, the king of Navarre took me aside, in a garden, and asked my opinion concerning the

condition in which the late battle had placed his affairs. I told him, that I thought it necessary he should march immediately with all his forces towards the source of the Loire, to receive the foreign supplies, or what would answer the same end, to facilitate their passage, by taking possession of all the towns on this side of the river; and which, except Poitiers and Angoulême, which he might leave, seemed not difficult to be won. By this means he would at least secure to himself the finest and best provinces, from whence he could not be driven in a short time, nor by very inconsiderable forces. The king approved of this advice, and appeared resolved to follow it exactly. He told me, that he had just sent Montglat* to the foreign army, and that since he could not go to put himself at the head of it, he ardently wished the prince of Conti† would accept of that charge; he had just received letters from that prince, in which he offered to assist him in person: and he added, that, under pretence of going to the royal army, the prince of Conti might join the auxiliaries without danger. The king employed me to prevail upon the prince to take this step, and ordered me to use all my endeavours to secure the success of it.

I set out for the army, charged only with a letter of three lines, and sending my equipage to Pons, passed through Maine, where I expected to have found the prince, by means of the acquaintance I had with the governors of those places through which he must pass. On my arrival I learnt that he had set out by himself two days before; that he had not so well concealed his

* Lewes de Harlai, lord of Montglat.

† Francis de Bourbon, prince of Conti, second son to Lewis I, prince of Condé, and Eleanora de Roye. He died in 1614, leaving no children by his two marriages.

march, but that his correspondence with the foreigners was suspected; and that for this reason several parties had been sent after him, which still filled the roads: I was therefore obliged to take a circuit, in order to endeavour to join him, and to pass by Ronsy, from whence coming to Neaufle, I was there informed that the Germans entering without order, and without guides, into unknown provinces, retarded in their march by large rivers, and continually harassed by the troops of the league, had at length been totally defeated at Auneau:* that the Swiss, to avoid the like misfortune, had enlisted, to the number of twelve thousand, into the army of the league; that the king of Navarre was at Bearn, his forces inactive and dispersed on all sides.

This mournful news stopped my journey, and rendered my commission useless. Nothing now remained for me to do, but to return to Rosny; where, while I secretly deplored the fatal consequences of our bad conduct, I feigned, for my security, to take part in the public rejoicings, for the defeat at Auneau. I visited my estates in Normandy: and while I was waiting for

* See a detail of this in De Thou, book lxxxvii. D'Aubigne vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 537. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. p. 39, and particularly the Memoirs of the League, vol. I. where it is observed, that at the time this army was encamped near the river Yonne, Montglat came from the king of Navarre, to desire the commanders of it would march towards the source of the Loire, where he would put himself at their head; but they did not think proper to do so. The leaders were, the baron d'Onau, or Dona, Guitry, Clervant, Beauvois La-Nocle, &c. If they had obeyed this order, the king of Navarre, then returning from Bearn, would have had time to join them with all his troops, and the army would not have been defeated. Davila, in his eighth book, relates the duke of Guise's reply to the duke of Maienne, who was sensible of the danger of attacking an enemy so much superior in number. "Those," said he, "that do not "care to fight, may stay here. What I cannot resolve upon in half an "hour, I should never resolve upon my whole life."

those remedies, which time and the king of Navarre's return might bring to our calamities, I learnt that he had left Bearn, and I went to join him at Bergerac,* where the news of the taking of Castillon consoled him a little, amidst so many causes for affliction. The siege of this place had cost the duke of Maïenne a million of crowns, and the viscount Turenne retook it† for less than two.

A little time afterwards, we were informed of two accidents that were likely enough to change the face of affairs; one was the death of the prince of Condé,‡ a death as sudden as tragical: the imprisonment of some of his chief attendants, and the execution of one of his domestics,‖ who was torn to pieces by four horses, left

* Upon the Dordogne. † By means of a ladder of cords.

‡ Notwithstanding the secret jealousy that subsisted between the prince of Condé and the king of Navarre, yet the king was extremely afflicted for his loss, and shutting himself up in his cabinet with the count of Soissons, he was heard to utter great cries, and to say, "That he had lost his right hand." Perefixe, History of Henry the Great, part I. This prince was called Henry, and was son to Lewis of Bourbon, first prince of Condé. He had no children by his first wife; after whom he married Charlotte Catherine de la Tremouille, whom at his death he left three months gone with child. It is a great error which was spread among the people, that Henry of Condé, the twelfth of that name, was born thirteen months after the death of his father. He was born the 1st of September following.

‖ The name of his domestic was Brilliant. One of his pages was executed in effigy. The princess herself was comprehended in this accusation. René Cumont, the lieutenant-particular of St Jean, commenced a process against her, which was suspended on account of the birth of Henry II, prince of Condé. After six years imprisonment, the princess presented a petition to the parliament of Paris, who brought this affair before their tribunal, and acquitted Charlotte Catherine de la Tremouille of the crime of which she was accused. The prince of Condé died at St. John d'Angely, March the 5th, 1588, aged thirty-five years. De Thou, book xc. Morisot, I know not upon what authority, says, that the death of the prince of Condé might be occasioned by a wound he received in his side, by a lance, at the battle of Coutras. Henry Magn. cap. xii. p. 27. [See

no room to doubt that he died by poison. The news of the populace rising* at Paris,† and barricading the

a Letter in the Appendix, where some circumstances respecting the prince's death are mentioned.]

* Thursday, May 12.

† I shall not give a detail of it here, as it would be too long, and may besides be found in a great many other books. It is sufficient to say, that Henry III, to prevent the dangerous designs of the league, having ordered about six thousand troops, the most part Swiss, to enter Paris, and spreading them in different quarters of the city, the people rose, being instigated by some of the chiefs of the league, barricaded themselves in the streets, repulsed the soldiers, disarmed the Swiss, defeated the king's guards, and carried the barricades within fifty paces of the Louvre, &c. Henry III, seeing himself ready to be besieged in the Louvre, and not willing to expose himself to the violence of an enraged populace, went out privately by the Tuilleries, and the suburb Montmartre, from whence he got to Chartres. The affair was afterwards turned into a negociation, between the queen-mother, and the duke of Guise, and the absolute decision of it remitted to the states of Blois.

I observe, after D'Aubigné, that it was very fortunate for Henry III, that his troops seized and kept possession of the suburb St. Honore, and the back of the Tuilleries; and that no one of the league thought of seizing these quarters at first. Those who guarded the gate of Nesse fired at a distance upon the king's troop, and seeing the ferry-boat of the Tuilleries approach, in which they supposed the king to be, cut the cable. Chronol. Noven. tom. I.

Henry III, on his part, was guilty of a still greater fault, in forbidding Crillon, colonel of the French guards, to take possession of the square Maubert, and the quarter of the university, and by hindering his soldiers from firing upon the populace; who by a more firm and seasonable conduct, might have been retained in their duty. The duke of Guise waited six whole days at Soissons, not daring to come to Paris, contrary to the king's orders, which were signified to him by Belliévre, in two letters that he sent him at different times by the post. They were to blame, as Matthieu, the historian also observes, vol. I. book viii. for not sending these letters, by an express to the duke of Guise; for the duke imagined, that he might elude this order, by denying he had received the letters, as he really did at the queen's palace, in the presence of the king and Belliévre to whom, he protested, with great oaths, that they were never delivered to him. This fault was not committed through negligence, but because they had not five and twenty crowns to spare, to pay the courier for his journey.

Henry III was advised by the duke of Epernon, to suffer his guards to assassinate the duke of Guise as he came to the Louvre; and this prince,

streets, and of the king's departure from that city, followed soon after, and was spread every where by the

it is said, wished to engage La Guesle and Villequier in the design, but they dissuaded him from it. It is reported also that the same day, in which the streets were barricaded, Alphonso d'Ornano assured him he would bring him the head of the duke of Guise, if he would permit him. In a word, it is thought, that the king did not make use of half the precautions he might have done, informed as he was of all the designs of the league, having himself narrowly missed being taken as he was going to Vincennes; and had just been convinced, by what had happened at the imprisonment of La Morliere, a famous leaguer, that the people only waited for an opportunity of insulting him. The king's council acted beyond comparison better in the affair of La Morliere, than on the day of the barricades. Memoirs of the League, vol. V. Satyr Menip.

The duke's design in this enterprize has given rise to great disputes, of which I cannot here enter into a detail; in this, as in all other dubious matters, much has been said on both sides. Those who will have it, that he intended to carry, or suffer the people to carry things to an extremity, to seize the king's person, in a word, to put the crown upon his own head, support their assertions by some writings of great consequence, to which I am obliged to refer the reader. See the first vol. of the Memoirs of the League, and the vol. marked 8866, in the king's library: the chief of which are, A letter written to him by the duchess of Lorraine, after the victory of Auneau, in which she advises him to make use of the present opportunity to declare himself king, &c. A letter written by the duke himself the next day after the barricades in the streets of Paris, to the governor of Orleans, wherein are these words: " I have vanquished the Swiss, cut in " pieces part of the king's guards, and hold the Louvre so closely invested, " that I shall be able to give a good account of those who are within. This " victory is so great, that it will never be forgot," &c. Many other letters, in which he mentions the king very disrespectfully, and the princes of the blood with the utmost contempt; to this they add, the discontent the duke showed, and the reproaches he made the queen-mother, for having amused him with conferences, while his prey escaped him. In short, the writings which were published, say they, by his commands, wherein was attempted to be proved, the pretended right the house of Lorrain had to the crown, not to mention an infinite number of other pieces, which were indeed but so many satirical libels against Francis, duke of Guise, reproaching him with having attempted to assert his chimerical claims upon Anjou and Provence; and the cardinal his brother, with endeavouring to make himself sovereign of Metz, under the protection of the emperor, a project, the execution of which the vigilance of Salcede prevented; but he lost his head

courier, who was sent with an account of it to the duke of Epernon. To this abject condition a king saw him-

for it, and for having treated about religion with the king of Spain, at the council of Trent, without his master's participation. The greatest part of these writings are yet in every body's hands.

For the duke's justification, those arguments are adduced, which he made use of himself in a letter, or a sort of manifesto, which he drew up the same day, being the 13th of May. He there declares, that the report of the king's intention to fill the city with foreigners, and to fall upon the citizens with them, was the true cause of the populace rising; that, instead of supporting them, he made use of his utmost endeavours, till two hours after midnight, to calm the tumult; that he had preserved the Swiss, and prevented the massacre; that he had intreated the rebels to respect the royal authority; and that, far from attempting any thing against the king's person, "I might," said he, "have stopped him a thousand times, if I had "been inclined to do so." &c. Add to this, that in treating with the queen-mother, he required nothing but the destruction of the Protestants, and that religion should be secured; and declared likewise, that it was not in his own name he treated, but in that of the cardinal of Bourbon, whose interests he supported against those of the king of Navarre, and the other princes of the blood.

I do not find it sufficiently proved against the duke of Guise, that his design was to place himself upon the throne, after the death of Henry III, and the cardinal of Bourbon; and this is very extraordinary. What ambitious man, and in his place, could have resisted the suggestions of the pope, the king of Spain, and a great part of Europe, who all conspired for his elevation? See the duke of Parma's opinion of this event, Davila, book ix. "The duke of Guise made shew of doing too much, and did in reality too "little: he ought to have remembered, that whoever draws his sword against "his prince, ought that instant to throw away the scabbard." Sixtus V. when he received the news, cried out, "Oh that presumptuous duke, and "that weak king!" The earl of Stafford, ambassador from England, (I relate this anecdote in the words of Le Grain, book iv.) "being advised to "take a safe conduct from the duke of Guise, 'will have no other security,' said he, "than the law of nations, and the protection of the king to whom "I am sent, whose servants and subjects both you and the duke of Guise "are." The first president, de Harlay, answered the duke of Guise with the same firmness, 'That in the king's absence, he would take his orders 'from the queen-mother.'

There is one piece upon the different conduct of the league and council, before and after the mutiny in Paris, that deserves to be read, and is entitled, The Verbal Process of Nicholas Poulain, the mayor of Paris, upon

self reduced, who neither knew how to prevent, to stifle, or to divide factions; who amused himself with conjecturing, when he ought to have acted, who exerted neither prudence nor fortitude, nor was even acquainted with the characters of those whom he commanded, nor those who were nearest his person. The revolutions which happen in great states are not produced by chance, or the caprice of the people; it is a weak and disorderly government that causes rebellions, for the populace never rise through a desire of attacking, but an impatience of suffering.

The just resentment that filled the heart of the king of Navarre, for so cruel an insult, offered to one of his own blood, and which, in some degree, reflected a disgrace upon all crowned heads, effaced in a moment the remembrance of Henry the Third's injurious treatment of himself. He declared his affliction at it in his council, who all with one voice approved of his resolution to assist and defend the king of France; and he sent his secretary immediately to Henry, to assure him, that his person and troops were at his service.

The count of Soissons, whose mind was engrossed by perpetual chimeras, looked upon this event as a stroke of fortune, which by ridding him of all his rivals, would give him the chief sway in the council, and court of Henry III; changing therefore his battery in an instant, he resolved to go and offer his service to that prince; and, to give himself more consequence with him, he sought dependents in the court of the king of Navarre, and from amongst his most affectionate

the league, from 1585 to 1588. This Nicholas Poulain, who secretly favoured the king's party, often gave good advice in this affair, which was never followed. This piece of secret history is to be found in the first volume of the Journal of Henry the Third's reign, p. 132, and following.

servants, whose fidelity he did not scruple upon this occasion to tempt. The king of Navarre, though he was pretty sensible of the baseness of this conduct, dissembled his sentiments of it; and reflecting that it would be of use to him to have some person with the count of Soissons, in whom he could confide, to watch all his motions, and study the new system he pursued at court, he commanded me to give ear to that prince's discourse, and to affect a zeal for him that I was very far from feeling. The count of Soissons suffered himself to be easily deceived; he congratulated himself on having gained me, and treated me with a distinction that did not fail to raise me some enemies, who envied me the share I possessed in his favour. I accompanied him in his journey, after having received instructions from the king of Navarre, and concerted with him those measures which his service required me to take upon this occasion.

During our whole journey, the count continually entertained me with the favour, the magnificence, and the honours that awaited him at court. The king of Navarre, he thought, would not even attempt to rival him: amidst all the expressions of vanity, and insupportable pride which escaped him, there was mingled, without his perceiving it, a kind of bitterness against the king of Navarre, which sufficiently discovered the hatred and antipathy he bore him. I could neither submit to flatter his inclinations, nor to approve of his ridiculous schemes; and all my answer was, that I foresaw the disunion of the royal family, which had been already the cause of so many misfortunes, would bring France at last under the power of the house of Austria, after it had made them destroy each other. A more

flattering language would have pleased him better; however, mine seemed to bear the marks of sincere attachment to him, which could not fail of gratifying.

We arrived at Nogent-le-Rotrou, and afterwards at Mante, where the king of France was. We found him in that restless and unquiet disposition of mind, which a violent resentment occasions, and filled with confusion for the affront he had so lately suffered. Notwithstanding all this, he was so incapable of taking the advantage of the change in his affairs,* that even at that very time he made the duke of Epernon admiral, and soon after gave him the government of Normandy, vacant by the death of the marshal Joyeuse. The count of Soissons was received in a manner so different from what he expected, that there needed no more to convince him of the folly of his great projects. The king, addressing himself to me, asked me if I had quitted the king of Navarre's party? I evaded this perplexing question, by telling him, that in coming to offer my service to his majesty, I did not think myself separated from the king of Navarre, because I was assured, that that prince, whose interests were the same with

* It is believed that if Henry III had acted with more prudence and steadiness, he would have been still able to retrieve his affairs. It is certain, that the Parisians, alarmed at his leaving Paris, sent deputies to him at Chartres, to intreat him with every kind of submission to return to that city; and to render this deputation more affecting, they made the capuchins walk in procession, and enter the cathedral with the instruments of the passion, crying 'Misericordia.' The king received them with that air of majesty and authority necessary upon the occasion. He showed great favour to the deputies from the parliament, which had not been any ways concerned in the affair of the barricades; the others he threatened, with saying he would never again enter Paris, and that he would deprive it of its charters, and sovereign courts; at which they were so greatly alarmed, that the Duke of Guise was obliged to exert all his art and authority to pacify them.

his, would in a little time do the like. I found this answer did not displease the king; but being surrounded, and carefully observed, by persons, on whose countenances it was easy to read the uneasiness which my discourse gave them, he concealed his sentiments. There was in the weakness of this prince something incomprehensible: his real enemies could not be unknown to him, after the audacious manner in which they had so lately taken off the mask; but still feigning ignorance, he again delivered himself up to the queen-mother,* and through her, to his persecutors,† with whom she reconciled him. Perhaps, however, this last step was in him but a stroke of the most profound dissimulation; for the bold‡ action he committed

* In the circular letter which Henry III sent into the provinces, after the action of the barricades, and which began thus; "Dear and well be-"loved, you have, as we suppose, heard the reasons that induced us to "leave our city of Paris, the 13th of this month," &c. he speaks more like a supplicant than a king; he defends his design of introducing a foreign garrison into Paris, and doubts of the fidelity of the Parisians. He gives a false and bad colour to his flight, and declares that he is ready to begin the war against the Huguenots, at the head of the League. MS. of the royal library, number 8366, 8391.

† The author means the conferences which the queen-mother held, by this prince's command, with the cardinal of Bourbon and the duke of Guise; to which were also admitted, as I find in vol. 8906, of the manuscripts in the royal library, the lords de Lansac, Lenoncourt, Des-Chateillers, and Miron, first physician to his majesty, who had been employed in carrying messages between the two parties on the day of the barricades. These conferences were held at Chalons, at Sarry, a house belonging to the bishop of Chalons, at Nemours, &c. The league made most extravagant demands there, such as the entire abolition of the reformed religion, the dismission of all the Calvinist officers, even if they abjured; the publication of the council of Trent, the inquisition, &c. and at last obtained all they demanded by the edict of July 21, which was issued in consequence of those conferences. Memoirs of the League, vol. I. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. Chron. Noven. vol. I. and others.

‡ The death of the two brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guise, whom this prince caused to be murdered in his own apartments, by his guards,

against the states of Blois gives us room to believe, that his revenge was never one moment out of his

the 23d of December, at Blois, where he held the states. See this murder in the same historians, with a relation of the proceedings and intrigues of both parties in the states of Blois. The cardinal of Bourbon was kept prisoner, the other brothers of the duke of Guise fled.

The duke of Guise perished as the admiral Coligny did; presumption hindered them both from seeing the danger with which they were threatened. The duke heeded none of the warnings that were given him; it is said, that the marchioness of Noirmoûtier, the same lady who made so much noise under the name of madam de Sauves, came on purpose to pass the night with him; and neither by arguments nor intreaties, could prevent him from going the next day to the council. Some persons took upon them to justify Henry III for this action; among others, the cardinal de Joyeuse, in a long memorial upon the subject, which he sent from Rome, where he then was. Velleroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175. But the most judicious of our historians, and even those who have carried the privilege of the royal authority furthest, all detest it. "The shocking cir-"cumstances of the murder of the Guises," says Perefixe, "appeared "horrible, even in the eyes of the Huguenots, who said, that it too much "resembled the massacre of St. Bartholomew." On the other hand, it cannot be denied, that Henry III had no other way of preserving the crown in his house, and perhaps on his own head; for there is not the least probability in what Villeroy asserts in his Memoirs, vol. I. p. 25, that the king without taking that course, might have made himself master of the deliberations of the states of Blois, and have obliged them to comply with his will. In this alternative one cannot help lamenting the consequences of bad conduct in a prince, which reduces him to such a sad necessity. He was himself a fatal example of this truth, that he who strikes with a knife shall perish by a knife.

The duke of Guise was almost adored by the Catholics, especially the lower orders, who called him always, *Our great man.* He had a scar on the left cheek, below his eye, which only served to make him more respected, because he received it, fighting against the Huguenots, at the battle of Château-Thierry, by a pistol shot from a German trooper. He was, on the contrary, so hated by his own family, whom he treated with an insupportable insolence and severity, that we are assured his relations, and even his own brothers, through fear of falling under the power of a tyrant, were the persons who sent Henry III the most certain intelligence of his actions and designs; an intelligence which was suspected by this prince, as that given to the duke by many of the courtiers concerning the king's violent resolution against him, was by him; for they both imagined from thence

thoughts: and if one might form any judgment of this assembly, every individual that composed it, had, to all appearance, each a secret object in view, to which all their designs tended, and which success discovered in some, and disappointment concealed in others.

The death of Catherine de Medicis, which happened soon after* the assassination of the duke of Guise, did

that the design was to prevail upon them to quit the party, and break with the states of Blois, in which each of them would have found his account. Henry III at first designed only to arrest the duke of Guise, but he found it would be dangerous, and still more so to make him prisoner; therefore he determined to have him stabbed. Both the bodies were consumed in quick lime, the bones burnt in a vault of the castle, and the ashes thrown into the air.

The king of Navarre, who had no hand in this assassination, was the person who gained the most by it. To all appearance, while the duke of Guise lived, he would never have obtained the crown. We are assured also, that there were then great designs formed between France and Spain, not only to extirpate the Protestant party, but even to dethrone Elizabeth, the execution of which the event of the barricades, followed by the death of the duke of Guise, was alone able to prevent. The king of Navarre lamented the fate of the duke of Guise, without blaming Henry III. "I "always," said he, "foresaw, and said, that messieurs de Guise would "never undertake the enterprize they had conceived, and bring it to an "issue, without endangering their lives." Cayet, vol. I. fol. 114. Several other persons were of the same opinion. "Cursed be Lorrain," said Hubert De Vins, in the Memoirs of Castelnau, "for his stupidity in sup- "posing, that a king, whose crown he was attempting to take away by "dissimulation, would not likewise dissemble with him, to take away his "life." "Since they are so near each other," said madam de Fourbin, the sister of de Vins, "we shall hear the very first day, either one or the "other has slain his companion."

The tragical events of the year 1588 have appeared to some to verify the prediction of Regiomontanus, and other astrologers, that this year would be the climacteric of the world. I find in it only a new confirmation of the folly of this ridiculous science.

* In the opinions of those who have bestowed so many praises upon this princess, it seemed sufficient to merit the title of a politician, that she knew how to engross the management of all affairs, and to keep herself in possession of authority; but when one reflects, that these supposed abilities,

not afford Henry III more liberty to follow his inclinations, which led him to unite himself with the king of Navarre. The league was not extinct with the duke of Guise: he had the minds of the people to calm, the grandees to regain, the pope to appease, Spain to keep in bounds, and the displeasure of all the Catholics to assuage, who, after this execution, were very well disposed to question his religion.

II. Henry, like all weak men, magnified those difficulties; he flattered himself he should reduce every thing to order by mildness; and therefore publicly asserted his privilege, explained his reasons for what he had done, and loudly justified his conduct. He ought to have employed arms alone against a party, which had no longer any respect for the royal authority; and, instead of increasing the presumption of the populace (who in power are no less insolent than they are abject in obedience) by a moderation which can only be

which consisted, however, in making use of unworthy means, and contemptible artifices, brought things at last to such an extremity, that neither she, nor any other, knew any longer what remedies to apply to them, it may be justly asserted, that the quality of a politician did not compensate for the numberless faults she committed. It is believed, that the fatal consequences which she apprehended would attend the murder of the Guises, in which she had no part, the cardinal of Bourbon's reproaches, the horror of the present time, and perhaps the stings of her conscience, hastened her death, which happened the 5th of January, 1589. She was forgot soon afterwards. De Thou, book xciv. Her last advice to her son was, to put an end to the persecution against the Protestants, and to establish an entire liberty of religion in France. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 132. Brantome's prejudices against this queen render all he has said to her disadvantage very doubtful, vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 31, and following. Varillas is not more to be believed, when he says, that her death was occasioned by her grief for the murder of the duke, whom she was very fond of. Siri praises her, like a foreigner who was not well acquainted with the affairs of our court at that time; for he came to France long after the death of the queen. Memoirs of Recon di Vittorio Siri, vol. I. page 26.

ascribed to weakness, he ought to have boldly declared himself the assailant, and sought for vengeance like a king. Had he acted in this manner, conjointly with the king of Navarre, he might, in all probability, have prevented the loss of Orleans, and an infinite number of other places:* nor had he been at last so reduced as to possess only the cities of Blois, Beaugency, Amboise, Tours, and Samur.

I was either a witness to all these events, or was soon informed of them at Rosny, whither I had retired, as to a place from whence I could easily observe whatever passed at court. I left it, as soon as I thought it was necessary to give the king of Navarre an account of these transactions. He had not been a little perplexed himself during this interval, in unravelling and overthrowing the schemes of the viscount Turenne, who putting himself in the prince of Condé's place, continued all his projects for himself, and acted in the same manner towards the king of Navarre as the duke of Guise did towards Henry III. In an assembly of the Protestants, held at Rochelle, he boldly declared, that France, in the present conjuncture, could not possibly avoid seeing her monarchy dismembered: and he gave them to understand, that, in the division which would be made of it, he would not forget himself. The king of Navarre complained of this conduct in the same assemblies; and to draw the Protestants more firmly to his person, he joined actions to words, seized upon Garnache, and took Niort† by storm, after a bloody and furious battle. It was at his return from this expedition, that he fell dangerously ill‡ at La Mothe-Frêlon.

* "It is a puff of wind," said Henry III, speaking of those cities, "which "has thrown down a pack of cards." † In Poitou.

‡ He left St. Hermine, in Lower Poitou, in the month of January, to go

I took my way through Blois, in order to form my last conjectures upon the situation in which I should find the court. Although I made use of all possible precautions to avoid being discovered by any person, yet the marquis of Rambouillet* seeing me pass through the street, knew me, though wrapt up in my cloak, and ordered me to be watched to my lodgings. The marquis was a man of strict probity, and had always the good of the state in view, without any considerations of self-interest: he conceived it his duty to employ this meeting in making one more effort upon the king's mind, and prevailing upon him at length to throw himself into the arms of the king of Navarre. He found him in such a disposition as he wished, and the king was induced to employ me more willingly upon this occasion, as he remembered I had already been sent to him on the same business. Rambouillet coming to me by his order, we concerted together what was necessary to be done; after which he presented me to his majesty, who confirmed to me himself his intentions. The many ineffectual engagements into which he had entered with the king of Navarre, made me think it necessary to ask him for a credential letter to that prince; but he refused this request, from an apprehension that it might fall into the hands of the nuncio Morosini,‡ or

and assist Garnache, which was besieged by the duke of Nevers. Du-Plessis-Mornay led his troops, and he himself marched on foot, as if he were sporting. He over-heated himself, and was seized with a pain in his side, attended with a fever, which obliged him to stop at the first house he came to, which belonged to a gentleman called La-Mothe-Frêlon. Du-Plessis persuaded him to be let blood, which cured him. Life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, book i. p. 125.

* Nicholas D'Angennes.

† John Francis Morosini, bishop of Bresce.—Lewis de Gonzague, duke of Nevers. Sixtus V had just published a bull of excommunication against

the duke of Nevers, to whom, he said, notwithstanding the esteem he had for me, he should be obliged to deliver me, if I were discovered in Blois. I therefore gave up this point; but afterwards demanded, for the security of the king of Navarre, that when he should enter into the midst of a country full of his enemies, a town might be given him, that would afford him a free passage over the Loire; this, for the same reason, was also refused. I could not attribute these refusals to any bad intention of the king, but solely to the fear he was in of those two men, upon whom he had voluntarily made himself dependent. I did not, however, think that the king of Navarre, without this last article were agreed to, should advance with his troops as far as Blois; but this difficulty was removed by Brigneux, the governor of Beaugency, whom I visited before I went away. After telling me, that he saw, with grief, that this place, like the rest, would be infallibly lost by the measures the king pursued, he offered to resign the care of it to me, or to Rebours, or any other officer the king of Navarre should appoint; adding, that he chose rather to resign his post, and follow that prince as a volunteer only, than to continue in Beaugency, where his advice was not regarded.

After this assurance, I returned immediately to the king of Navarre: he listened to me attentively, but not

Henry III, which this prince used his utmost endeavour to get recalled. This pope, who was said to be equally fit to govern a great kingdom as to be the head of the church, secretly approved of that justice which the king of France had executed upon the duke of Guise; but he could not pardon him for involving a cardinal in it. See in Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175, the cardinal de Joyeuse's letters already cited. Sixtus V foretold, that the leage would reduce Henry to the necessity of applying to the king of Navarre and the Huguenots for assistance.

being able to suppress those doubts, which his frequent disappointments from the king of France had inspired him with, he often asked me, with an unquiet tone of voice, and irresolute action, if I now really thought the king of France sincere? I protested to him that I believed he was: and added the testimony of Rambouillet. "Well then," replied the king, "I will not take "his towns, while he continues to act faithfully with "me:" (for he had taken Châtelleraud* that very day.) "Return therefore," he added, "and carry him my letters: for I neither fear Morosini nor Nevers." Accordingly he made me go with him immediately to dinner in his closet: after which I took post again for Blois.

The king of France, who did not doubt but the king of Navarre's answer would be such as he desired, had, through impatience, advanced as far as Montrichard, with all his train. I found all the lodgings in this little place either occupied or bespoke, so that, as I arrived very late, I began to think I should be obliged to pass the night in the street: luckily Maignan found out the marquis of Rambouillet's lodgings, and he provided me with those that had been designed for one of my brothers, who was then at Tours. At midnight I went to the king, who waited for me in an upper chamber of the castle. He approved of, and signed every thing, even to the passage over the Loire: and would have had me set out again that same night. The report of a treaty between the two kings had already reached Châtelleraud, when I arrived there; and was so passionately desired by the people, that as soon as I appeared, they loaded me with a thousand blessings.

* In Poitou.

The king of Navarre had already gone from thence. This prince, who depended upon nothing but his sword, being informed that the league had entered Argenton,* marched hastily thither, and arrived so seasonably, that he dislodged their troops before they had received the supplies necessary to maintain them there. He left Beaupré governor in the place, and sent me thither to survey it, and to take an account of the stores, and see what was required.

The fatigue I had suffered from so many successive journey's threw me, at my return, into a continued fever, which confined me to my bed twelve days. Du-Plessis took advantage of this accident, to deprive me of the honour of a treaty which he had only the trouble of drawing up, and in which the marquis of Rambouillet† had a greater share than himself. This treaty was signed at Plessis-les-Tours, to the great satisfaction of the two kings. Saumur was the place of security agreed upon, and Du-Plessis did not fail to procure the government of it, as a fit reward for him to whom they were obliged for the success of the treaty.‡ This proceeding appeared to me so extremely unjustifiable, that I complained loudly of Du-Plessis, and even of the king of Navarre himself, who had bestowed the fruit of my labour upon another. The count of Soissons, who never had any regard for the general interest, nor ever took part in the public joy, made use of this circumstance to endeavour to engage me in his new designs; and my two brothers, on the other hand, pres-

* In the Upper Poitou.

† It is but just to observe, that these facts are related very differently in the life of Du-Plessis Mornay, book i. p. 131; the reader must determine to which of the writers most credit ought to be given.

‡ Philip Mornay, lord of Plessis Marly.

sed me earnestly to attach myself wholly to the party of the king of France: but I rejected this proposition, nor was my fidelity to my prince to be shaken by all the efforts which were made to seduce me. When I reflected also, that the government of Saumur would have obliged me to a constant residence there, and consequently have removed me for ever from the king of Navarre, I found, that what had appeared an act of injustice, was, in reality, a favour, for which I ought to be thankful.

Nothing now remained for the two kings to do, but to have a conference together, in order to concert their future enterprizes. For this purpose, the king of Navarre set out from Plessis-les-Tours. Still assaulted by some remains of distrust,* which he could with difficulty suppress, he stopped near a mill, about two leagues from the castle, and would know the opinion of each of the gentlemen who composed his train, upon the step he was going to take. I was amongst them, and the remembrance of the injustice, as I then thought it, which he had done me, keeping me silent, "You say nothing," said he, turning to me, "what are "your thoughts of the matter?" I answered, in few words, that it was true, the step he was taking was not without danger, because the troops of the king of France were superior to his; but that I looked upon

* "His old Huguenot officers, they say, were afraid, that at a time "when treachery was so necessary to Henry III, to extricate him from the "labyrinth into which the action he had committed at Blois had thrown "him (he had been excommunicated by Sixtus V,) he would not scruple "to purchase his absolution at the price of the king of Navarre's life." Perfixe, ibid. This prince had often himself said, as De Thou relates, "That he never went to the king's closet but through the midst of two ar-"mies, ranged on each side."

this to be one of those occasions, in which something ought to be left to chance; and that, for the rest, he ought to content himself with using all the precautions which prudence could suggest. He paused for a few moments, and then turning towards us, "Let us go on," said he, "my resolution is fixed, I will no longer "hesitate."*

The king of France had advanced to meet the king of Navarre, and the joy for an union which had been so ardently desired, drew together so great a concourse of people, that the two kings continued above a quarter of an hour at the distance of fifty paces from each other, without being able to approach nearer; at length the crowd giving way, they embraced each other with equal satisfaction on both sides,† and took the road together to Tours, where the king of Navarre lay only one night, and then returned to his quarters at Maillé. As for me, I staid at Tours, being detained by a great number of my friends and relations, whom I found there, and fixed my residence in the suburb of St. Symphorien.

The duke of Maïenne, who had taken up arms to revenge the death of the duke of Guise, and to support the interest of the league, had no design to allow us to remain there quiet; but marched with his whole army towards this town. The king, who had rode as far as Marmoutier,‡ unarmed and attended only by

* He wrote to Du-Plessis-Mornay, in these terms: "Monsieur Du-Ples- "sis, the ice is broken, not without many warnings, that if I went I should "be a dead man: I passed the water, recommending myself to God," &c.

† At the bridge of La-Motte, a quarter of a league from Tours. "Cou- "rage, my lord," said Henry IV, to Henry III, "two Henrys are worth "more than one Carolus." Matthieu, vol. I. p. 152. The duke of Maienne's name was Charles.

‡ An abbey near Tours.

twenty horse, narrowly escaped being taken, and was obliged to return precipitately to Tours. The suburbs having no other intrenchments than some slight barricades, hastily constructed by six or seven regiments of royalists, who defended them, I quitted the suburb of St. Symphorien, and ordered all my horses and baggage to be brought into the city. My conduct was taxed with timidity by the officers; but it was not long before it was sufficiently justified.

The duke of Maïenne attacked the suburbs; he was stopped some moments by means of five or six houses, on the top of the hill, where our people had posted themselves; but they were soon obliged to abandon them, in order to intrench themselves behind the barricades, where expecting soon to be assaulted, they made use of this interval to snatch a hasty refreshment.

I met the king at the gate of the city, who made me enter, telling me, that he believed it would be in vain to endeavour to defend the suburbs. Indeed the barricades could not resist the enemy's cannon; they were forced at the first onset, and as our men had no ditch to support them, their retreat into the city was so confused, and so much exposed to the enemy, that I am surprised the whole were not either taken or slain, and that the enemy did not even enter the city along with them; two pieces of cannon would have been sufficient for their purpose. I saw the flight of our people from the convent of the Jacobins, which overlooked the walls of the city; and fearing that the danger would increase, I ran, with my two brothers to the gate, to which they all prest tumultuously, and by means of some intrenchments we ordered to be made, rendered their retreat more secure, and

with a little time and order they all entered; after which we closed up the gate, and set a strong guard over it.

It being no longer doubted that the city would be besieged in form, I joined Chatillon, and some others, and we went to entreat the king of France to entrust to us the defence of some important post; he gave us the Isles,* and we laboured there without ceasing from that moment, till the next morning, when the king came to visit our work. He addressed himself to me, and praised our diligence greatly: but it was useless: for at the first news of what had happened, the king of Navarre marched hastily with his troops to Tours, and appeared in three hours before the city. The duke of Maïenne would not wait for him, but retreated, after plundering the suburbs, and even the churches. A service of this importance gave great hopes of what an alliance between two kings might produce, and made the inhabitants of Tours look upon the king of Navarre as their deliverer.†

The two kings continued together eight or ten days, after which they separated for the enterprize that had been projected against the city of Poitiers.

While they carried on the works there, the king of Navarre sent me with three hundred horse, and a like number of arquebusiers, to whom he also gave horses, to defend Chartres, it having been discovered, that Maintenon‡ was secretly endeavouring to possess himself of the place, in the name of the league. I provided myself with rope-ladders, petards, and other in-

* Read isle. This quarter, which is inhabited only by watermen, and the meanest people, is of great consequence to the defence of Tours.

† Henry IV, highly extolled the behaviour of Henry III, who showed great courage upon this occasion. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 589.

‡ Lewis D'Angennes, lord of Maintenon.

struments, and came directly to Bonneval,* without taking any refreshment the whole day. Some prisoners which we took from a detachment of twenty-five troopers, informed us that the enemy had a party of four hundred horse in the field, with Brosse Saveuse† at their head; and that Reclainville,‡ who led the twenty-five troopers, had taken us for a body of a hundred and twenty horse, with which Lorges§ had just surprised Châteaudun. We concluded from this account, that the party of four hundred horse was endeavouring to come up with us; and we, on our side, having the same desire, left our arquebusiers to pursue the road to Chartres leisurely, and taking ours amongst the little hills, in order to reach the enemy's squadron, we met them on the top of a small hill, which each party had ascended on his own side; so that we neither saw them, nor they us, till we were within two hundred paces of each other. We came to blows immediately,‖ and with so much fury, that by the first shock forty of our men were thrown to the ground; I was of this number, together with Mess. De Chatillon,¶ de Mouy, De Montbazon, D'Avantigny, and De Bressaigny. Happily I had received no wound: my horse, who was only cut in the jaw, got up again while I was still on his back. Perhaps there never was an action of this sort, more furious, obstinate, or more bloody. Four or five times

* A town upon the confines of Perche.

† Charles de Tiercelin, and Anne his brother; the eldest was called Saveuse, and the youngest De Brosse.

‡ Lewis d' Alonville, lord of Reclainville, or l'Arclainville, who commanded in Chartres, for the duke of Maienne.

§ ——— de Montgomery de Lorges. ‖ May 18.

¶ Francis de Chatillon, the admiral's son, the leader of the troop. Isaac Vaudre de Mouy. Lewis de Rohan duke of Montbazon.

we returned to the charge, the enemy rallying again the moment they were put into disorder. I had two swords broke, and was obliged to have recourse to a pair of pistols loaded with steel balls, against which no arms were proof. Our enemies finding they had lost two hundred of their men, left us at last in possession of the field of battle.

We were not in a condition to enjoy the fruits of our victory, on account of extreme fatigue, and the pain of our wounds, which rendered us almost motionless. A little rest was all we wished for, when a heavy rain fell, which, mixing with our sweat, wet us all over in an instant; for we were obliged to cover our arms with our clothes: and to complete our misfortunes, we learnt that the duke of Maïenne was at our heels. In this distressing situation, a council being held, it was resolved, notwithstanding the condition we were in, that we should march all night, and endeavour to get back to Beaugency, where we arrived so much exhausted with fatigue and thirst, that, my strength failing me, all I could do was to sink down upon a bed, nor was it possible to awake me to take any nourishment.

The report of this engagement being spread every where, the king of Navarre came to Beaugency to visit us, and expressed himself highly satisfied with our behaviour. Saveuse, who was among the prisoners, was brought before him, and the king, who, from the same principle of generosity, caressed the brave, and compassionated the unfortunate, endeavoured to console him, by praises on his conduct, and every kind of good treatment. But he knowing that a great number of his relations, and almost all his friends, had perished in the fight, his grief for their loss, the shame he felt at

being vanquished, and the dangerous wounds he had received, inspired such extreme despair, that he became delirious, and died in the frenzy of a raging fever, two hours afterwards, without suffering his wounds to be drest. The king of Navarre made us set out for Chateaudun, whither he also went himself: here eight days rest entirely obliterated all remembrance of our past fatigues, and I continued to pass my time very agreeably, when a courier brought me the news that my wife was dangerously ill. I flew to Rosny with d'Orthoman,* first physician to the king of Navarre, whom he had ordered to accompany me; I met with many difficulties, for all this part was in the interests of the league; and one of my brothers,† who had taken possession of my house, the same wherein my wife lay ill, had the cruelty to draw up the bridge, and refuse me entrance. I was deeply affected with so unnatural a treatment, and swore I would enter, or perish in the attempt, and already began to apply ladders to the walls, when my brother, who did not perhaps expect so much resolution, ordered the gate to be opened.

The only consolation I had was to find my wife still alive, and to receive her last embraces: all remedies were ineffectual, and she died four days after my arrival. I must confess, the loss of a wife so dear to me, and whose life had been exposed to such cruel vicissitudes of fortune, deprived my heart, during a whole month, of every other passion but grief. I heard with indifference the progress of the arms of the two kings, which at any other time would have inflamed me with an ardent desire of sharing in their dangers and glory:

* Nicholas d'Orthoman, a native of Arnheim.

† This is certainly the eldest, who was called the baron of Rosny.

for it was about this time, that they took Gergeau, Pluviers, Estampes, Chartres,* Poissy, Pontoise, Isle Adam, Beaumont, and Creil. Every little inconsiderable town boasted of having stopped her king, who found nothing but revolt and disobedience over all his dominions. He was now sensible of the great advantage he derived from the king of Navarre's assistance. As for this prince, he was as prodigal of life as if he had been weary of it: wherever there was most danger, there he was to be seen at the head of his soldiers. In one of those many encounters he had to maintain, at the very moment when, to rest himself, he was leaning upon Charbonniere, that officer was laid dead at his feet by a musket shot.

I awaked as from a deep sleep at the news† of the two kings holding Paris besieged; and leaving a place where every object I saw renewed my affliction, I went to join the army. It was here that I soothed that grief which still filled my heart, by exposing myself carelessly in all the skirmishes we had with the enemy, more frequent then than ever, particularly in the plain, called the *Scholar's meadow.* The king of Navarre perceived my design, and observing that Maignan, my equerry, whom he often ordered to go to me, and force me away, durst not do it, he desired him only to tell me, that he wanted to speak to me. As soon as I was told this I came to the king; scarce had he uttered a word, when he was interrupted by a gentleman, who

* Towns in the neighbourhood of Paris, in the isle of France, La Beauce, and L'Orleans. See an account of this in the historians.

† If we may believe Matthieu, vol. II, p. 3, the two kings were not very well satisfied with each other. Henry III, could not conceal his jealousy of Henry IV, who, far from expecting to reign, resolved to retire as soon as he had re-established the king upon his throne.

whispered something in his ear, and left him immediately. The king, amazed at what he had heard, called me again instantly, and told me an assassin had dangerously wounded the king of France with a knife:*

* James Clement, a Jacobin monk, born in Sorbonne, a village of Burgundy. He was introduced by La Guesle, the solicitor-general, into the king's chamber, as having a letter of great consequence to deliver to him. This prince, who had a great kindness for monks, rose from the close-stool upon which he was siting, having already read part of the letter, when the assassin struck him in the belly with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound; the king drew it out and wounded the monk with it in the forehead, who was immediately killed by La Guesle, with a stroke of his sword; his body was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Seine. The historians have not forgot to observe, as a circumstance at that time not doubted of, that Henry III, was murdered in the same house, and (if we believe them) in the same chamber, the same spot, and the same month, where seventeen years before, that prince had assisted at the council in which the massacre of St. Bartholomew was resolved upon. Monsieur Bayle seems to have given credit to this anecdote; which is now proved to be false, the house at the time of the massacre of St Bartholomew not being built. Henry III died in the night between the second and third of August, aged 38 years "James Clement being at St. Cloud, some persons, who suspected him, "went at night into his chamber to observe him; they found him in a pro- "found sleep, his breviary before him, open at the article of Judith. He "fasted, confessed himself, and received the sacrament before he set out "to assassinate the king. He was praised for this action at Rome, in the "pulpit where Henry the third's funeral oration ought to have been pro- "nounced. At Paris, his picture was placed on the altars with the eucha- "rist. Cardinal de Retz relates, that on the anniversary day of the bar- "ricades, in the minority of Lewis XVI, he saw a gorget upon which this "monk was engraved, with these words underneath, *St. James Clement.*" Notes upon the Henriade.

"The king of Navarre," says Victor Cayet, Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 223, "kneeled at his bedside, sighs and tears not permitting him to "speak a word. He took his majesty's hands between his, and kissed them. "The king, perceiving that he was silent through the strong emotions "with which he was agitated, embraced his head, kissed him, and gave "him his benediction. Had not the knife been poisoned, the wound would "not have been mortal; for it was not deep, and had not injured the intes- "tines. fol. 217. Bourgoin, prior of the Jacobins, was torn to pieces by four "horses. They could extort nothing from him but these words, *We have*

then mounting his horse, and attended only by five and twenty gentlemen who were about him, took the road to St. Cloud, which was the king's quarters. On his entering the king's apartment, he found he had just received an injection, which came away again without either pain or blood. The king of Navarre approached his bed, amidst all the agitation and grief which the sincerest friendship could inspire. The king comforted him, by saying he thought his wound would have no bad consequences, and that God would prolong his life, that he might be in a condition to give him new proofs of his affection. The wounded monarch pronounced these words in such a manner, as moved part of the king of Navarre's apprehensions, who seeing likewise no appearance of any dangerous symptom, left him to his repose, and returned to his quarters at Meudon.

My lodgings were at the bottom of this castle, in the house of a man named Sauvat. After I had attended the king of Navarre to his apartment, I went home to sup, and had just sat down at table, when I saw Ferret, his secretary, enter, who said to me, "Sir, the king "of Navarre, and perhaps the king of France, desires

"*done what we could, but not what we would have done;* which caused a be- "lief that Henry IV was to have been assassinated at the same time. The "sieur de Rougemont was arrested, as having desired to strike the blow "himself," fol. 228. The king died like a good Christian. "He forgave his "enemies, and even Clement himself," says Matthieu. See, in the historians, a fuller account of his death. His character may be collected from what is said of him in these Memoirs. He was named, at his baptism, Edward Alexander, by Edward VI, king of England, and Antony king of Navarre; but Catherine made him afterwards assume the name of his father.

It is said, that seventeen or eighteen persons who had gathered up the ashes of Clement, which the wind had dispersed, getting into a boat with them, the boat, and all that were in it, were swallowed up by the Seine.

"you will come to him instantly." Surprised at these words, I went with him immediately to the castle; and as we went along, he told me that d'Orthoman had informed the king of Navarre, by an express, that if he wished to see the king of France alive, he had not a moment to lose.

III.—I went directly to the king of Navarre's apartment, where, while our horses were saddling, he did me the honour to consult me upon the present conjuncture. So many different thoughts presented themselves to my mind that moment, that I continued some time silent, nor was the king in less agitation. It was not the issue of a little negociation, the success of a battle, or the possession of a small kingdom, such as Navarre, that employed his thoughts, but the greatest monarchy in Europe. But how many obstacles had he to surmount, how many labours to endure, before he could hope to obtain it! All that he had hitherto done, was nothing in comparison to what remained to do. How crush a party so powerful, and in such high credit, that it had given fears to a prince established on the throne, and almost obliged him to descend from it! This difficulty, already so great, appeared insurmountable, when he reflected that the king's death would deprive him of the best and greatest part of his forces; he could have no dependence either on the princes of the blood, or the grandees; and although in his present condition he had occasion for every one's assistance, yet he had no one in whom he could confide. I was struck with fear, when he suggested to me, that it was probable such surprising, and unexpected news might occasion a revolution, which would expose him, with only a few of his most faithful

servants, to the mercy of his old enemies, in a country where he was absolutely destitute of every resource.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, every one confessed that the king of Navarre had but one part to take, which was to seize this opportunity, and use it with all those precautions which generally determine the event. Without attempting to judge of the future, which depends upon too many accidents, much less to subject it to our precipitation: in bold and difficult enterprises, we should endeavour to subdue one obstacle at a time: nor suffer ourselves to be depressed by their greatness, and their number. We ought never to despair of what has been once accomplished. To how many things has the idea of impossibility been annexed, that have become easy to those who knew how to take advantage of time, opportunity, lucky moments, the faults of others, different dispositions, and an infinite number of other circumstances?

The answer I made the king was founded on these maxims: and we agreed that, instead of going back to the distant provinces, he should remain in the midst of the royal army to support his claim, and set out immediately for St. Cloud, but well armed at all events, taking care, however, to keep our additional arms concealed, that we might not ourselves be the first to create terror and suspicion. When we entered St. Cloud, they told us the king was better: and obliged us to take off our swords. I followed the king of Navarre, who advanced towards the castle, when suddenly we heard a man exclaim, "Ah! my God, we are lost!" The king of Navarre making this man approach, who continued crying, "Alas! the king is dead," asked him several questions, which he answered by such a circumstantial

recital of the king's death, that we could no longer doubt the truth of it. Henry was still more convinced when, after advancing a little farther, he saw the Scotch guard, who threw themselves at his feet, saying "Ah, sire: you "are now our king and master!" And some moments after, Mess. de Biron,* De Bellegarde, D'O, De Chateauvieux, De Dampierre, and several others, did the same.

The king of Navarre was convinced that this was one of those critical moments, upon the good or bad use of which his destiny depended. Without suffering himself to be dazzled with the view of a throne, to which he was that instant called, or oppressed by difficulties, and useless grief, he calmly began to give orders for retaining every one in their duty, and preventing any disorder: then turning to me, with that familiar air which he used to those of whose affection he was assured, he bid me go to the marshal d'Aumont's† quarters, and there, with all the precaution necessary for his interest, spread among his troops the news of the king's death, and to speak by this marshal to the French guards, to engage their officers to come and pay their homage to him in the afternoon, and to prevail upon the nobility to do the like. He recommended to me to observe my own quarters carefully, and keep every thing there in good order; after which, he applied himself to gain all the foreign powers, on whose assistance he thought he might depend, and wrote, or sent deputies, to Germany, England, Flanders, Switzerland, and to the republic of

* Armand de Gontaut, marshal de Biron.—Roger de St. Larry de Bellegarde, grand ecuyer of France.—Francis D'O, governor of Paris, and superintendant of the finances, Joachim de Châteauvieux.

† John duke D'Aumont, marshal of France.

Venice, to inform them of this new event, and the claim which it gave him to the crown of France.

I represented to him, that it was absolutely necessary to get possession of Meulan* immediately; a place, upon this occasion, of the utmost importance, the governor of which (who was called Saint-Marc) he knew to be, in his heart, a zealous partisan of the league. I explained to him in a few words how easily this might be executed, and the king approving my scheme, I went to Meulan, and demanded a conference with Saint-Marc, upon affairs, I said, of the greatest consequence to him. He came to me, and while I amused him with a feigned confidence, the marshal D'Aumont passed over the bridge with his troops, and taking advantage of the consternation this occasioned, proceeded to the castle, of which he made himself master. The king offered me the government of Meulan, but from many considerations I did not chose to accept it.

Part of Henry's apprehensions were soon justified by the event: he found it impossible to keep either the duke of Epernon,† or many other disaffected Catholics, in his

* In the isle of France.

† The author of his life assigns such very bad reasons for this retreat, that it is plain nothing can excuse it. Upon this occasion it appears, that besides the Protestant party, they might have reckoned three others among the Catholics themselves; the first, those persons who abandoned Henry IV, after the death of Henry III; the second, those who not being able to prevail upon this prince to declare that very moment, that he would embrace the Catholic religion, continued with him, but had neither affection to his person, nor a sincere attachment to his interest. The number of these was very great; the chief among them were the dukes of Longueville and Nevers, D'O (who had spoken to him in the name of the rest), and many others. The third party was made up of those who declared publicly, says D'Aubigné, that they would serve the king without any conditions, and these were indeed but very few in number, among which were the marshals D'Aumont and Biron, Givry, &c. Henry was extremely perplexed at the

service, especially those who owed their fortune to the deceased king. By their desertion, his army was reduced to almost those troops only, that he had brought with him, which rendered it impossible for him to continue the siege of Paris, or even to remain in its neighbourhood. The foreign powers either gave him nothing but promises, or offered him such supplies as could be of no use in his present exigencies: he was obliged, therefore, to retire into the heart of the kingdom: he had already (though without discovering his real motive for it) caused a report to be spread among his soldiers of an intended journey to Tours. This retreat was equally necessary for the safety of his person, and the success of his affairs: a thousand dangers threatened him in the neighbourhood of a city, where the king his predecessor, though a Catholic, and with a powerful army under his obedience, could not escape a violent death. It was here that the last resolution was taken for the murder of that prince: and he had still more reason to tremble, when he reflected that those cruel designs were formed in the midst of his army, and the assassins perhaps near his person.

In this perplexing situation, it was necessary to place a governor in Meulan, who had a regiment ready to defend it against the league, which becoming insolent by the king's death, in imagination already enjoyed the con-

rude proposition made him by the Catholics, and the declaration they added to it, that they would retire, if he did not give them this satisfaction. He told them resolutely, that he would never be reproached with having been constrained to take such a step, and demanded six months to think upon it. See the historians upon this subject, and particularly D'Aubigné, vol. III. book ii. chap. 23. Henry IV received such important services on this occasion from the marshal Biron, that it was reported, it was he who made him king: and the marshal is said to have reproached Henry with his services in those very terms. Mem. of Brantome, vol. III. p. 346.

quest of it: as I had no regiment, nor sufficient time to raise one, the government of Meulan was given to Bellengreville.*

The king, in his retreat, took Clermont,† and some other small towns: his forces were too inconsiderable to admit of his engaging in greater enterprizes, which was the reason likewise that Louviers‡ was not taken, upon which I had a design that in all appearance would have succeeded; this I communicated to the king, and desired he would give me some forces for the execution of it; he could spare me no more than a company of his light-armed horse, commanded by Arambure, which was not sufficient; but he assured me that I should be joined at Louviers by a regiment of twelve hundred men, which was then at Nogent; and for this purpose he wrote to Couronneau, the colonel of it, to act according to my orders. With this hope I approached Louviers, when I found that Couronneau was at Tours, and all the men I could procure amounted to only about two or three hundred, a force by no means sufficient for my purpose, particularly as messieurs d'Aumale,§ de la Londe, de Fontaine-Martel, de Medavy, de Contenant, and many other officers of the league, had entered the place three days before. I was confident of the success of my enterprize, if I had had men enough: the attack was to be made by the bed of a large canal, which was supplied by the river Eure, and entered the town by means of floodgates: the waters of the river had been turned into a

* Read, Joachim de Berengueville.

† In Beauvoisis.

‡ A city of Normandy.

§ Charles de Lorraine, duke of Aumale;—Bigars de le Londe, mayor of Rouen; Francis de Fontaine-Martel, governor of Neufchâtel; Charles Francis de Rouxel de Medavy: Timoleon de Bauves de Contenant.

different direction, for the purpose of repairing some mills upon it which had been injured by a late flood, so that the water in the canal was low enough to allow the troops to march almost dry-footed up to the flood-gates, which would have been easily forced by a petard; besides this, the town ditches, from the same cause, were also dry, and by them we could have approached to the very foot of the walls, and mounted without much difficulty, as they were very low: before I quitted the place I was desirous to convince those about me of the practicability of this latter scheme, and sent two soldiers, with two of Arambure's officers, for that purpose, and they entered the town without creating the least alarm, and returned to me in safety.

I returned by Pont-de-l'Arche, to meet the king of Navarre at Ecoüy, from whence he intended to go immediately to Touraine; but he found the Normans so well inclined towards him, that he was induced by their offers, to attempt the important siege of Rouen. While preparations were making for this enterprize, we took Gournay,* Neufchâtel, the city of Eu, Treport, and Darnetal; where the king received advice that the duke of Maïenne was making every effort to bring him to an action. I was ordered to go with fifty horse to reconnoitre the duke's army, which I found in the neighbourhood of Mante, and spread all over my estate. I posted myself in the Forest; from whence I made observations, and brought the king information, that the army of the league consisted of twenty-five thousand foot and eight thousand horse. The king, who had only a little flying camp to oppose to so formidable an army, was not willing to neglect any precaution which

* In Upper Normandy.

might be necessary. He had already caused the commander de Chastes,* governor of Dieppe, to be sounded, to know if, in any case of necessity, he would receive him into that place: and he had reason to be satisfied with his answer; but, in order to be better assured of this governor's intentions, he went himself to confer with him, when he not only repeated what he had already said, but offered, if the king had any doubts, to place whoever he might choose in the citadel. Finding therefore that he might depend upon so secure a retreat as Dieppe,† he the less feared to keep the field before the enemy; and resolving to make head against them till the last extremity, he took up a position before Arques.‡

At the end of the causeway of Arques there is a long winding hill, covered with coppice: beneath is a space of arable land, in the midst of which is the great road that leads to Arques, having thick hedges on each side. Lower down, upon the left hand, there is a kind of great marsh or boggy ground. A village called Martinglise§ bounds the hill, about half a league from the causeway, and in this village, and in the neighbourhood of it, the whole army of the duke of Maïenne was encamped. The king was sensible, that by attempting to resist an army of above thirty thousand men, with less than three thousand, his conduct would be accused

* Aimat de Chastes, knight of St. Lazarus, and governor of Dieppe.

† Henry IV, it is said, was reduced to such an extremity under the walls of this city, that he was upon the point of retiring into England; which the marshal de Biron prevented, by advising him to make good his post at Arques. Before the battle of Arques, he said, that he was a king without a kingdom, a husband without a wife, and a warrior without money.

‡ In the country of Caux.

§ Or Martin Eglise.

of rashness: but, besides that it would be very difficult to find a place more favourable for his few forces, and that there was danger in going back, he thought that the present weak condition his party was in, demanded some bold blow at the beginning. He neglected nothing that might compensate, in some degree, for the smallness of his numbers: he ordered deep trenches to be cut at the causeway, and above as well as beneath the great road, on each side of which he posted twelve hundred Swiss, and six hundred German foot to defend the upper trenches; and placed a thousand or twelve hundred others in a chapel, which stood in the midst of the upper and lower trenches. These were all the infantry he had: his cavalry, which amounted only to six hundred men, he divided into two equal squadrons; and with one, posted himself between the wood and the road, and separating the other into troops, sent them between the road and the morass, to fill in some sort that space. He remained upon guard the whole of the night, as he was apprehensive that the enemy would endeavour, as soon as it was dark, to make himself master of the end of the causeway. In the morning they brought him some refreshments into the trench, where he invited his principal officers to breakfast with him; after which he thought to have taken a few moments repose, when he was informed by the guards, that the army of the league was marching towards him, in order of battle.

At this news, he sent the viscounts de Chartres, Palcheux, Brasseuse, Avantigny, and three or four others into the wood, who soon returned, bringing with them the count de Belin* prisoner, he having entered

* Francis de Faudois, d'Averton de Serillac, count of Belin, deputy governor of Paris for the duke of Maienne.

the wood, with five or six horse, for the purpose of reconnoitering the king's position. The king went to meet him, and embraced him smiling. The count smiled, and assured his majesty that in two hours an army of forty thousand men would be upon him, and that he saw no forces there to resist it: "You see not all, M. Belin," said the king to him with the same gayety, "for you reckon not God, and my just claim, "who fight for me." Accustomed as I was to see this prince, I could not help admiring the tranquillity that sat upon his countenance, on an occasion so much the more desperate, as it gave time for reflection. His look was so serene, and his ardour tempered with so much prudence, that he appeared to the soldiers as something more than human, and inspired them all with the intrepidity of their leader.

The duke of Maïenne ordered the upper trenches to be attacked by a squadron of his German foot, who seemed to refuse fighting because they had only Germans to encounter, and feigned to surrender; our Germans were so effectually deceived by this artifice, that they suffered the others to advance and gain the trench, from whence they drove out ours; and from this advantageous post they gave us a great deal of trouble. I soon lost sight of all that was done at the side of the wood; for that part of the morass where I was, with ten of my men, was that moment attacked by a squadron of eight or nine hundred horse. At the approach of so large a body we drew together about a hundred and fifty horse, and drove them back as far as the valley; where, meeting with four other squadrons, they obliged us to retreat, till being joined in our turn by the

count D'Auvergne,* who brought a hundred and fifty horse more to our assistance, we a second time beat back the enemy's squadrons, who being joined by three hundred horse, we were forced to give ground, and regained the chapel in disorder; where fortunately our infantry, who were posted there, stopped the enemy's cavalry short; here Sagonne† and some other officers were slain.

The duke of Maïenne commanding all the rest of his German foot to attack the chapel, we yielded at length this post: and overpowered by numbers, abandoned the hollows in the road, and even the road itself. This might be called the beginning of a defeat: and we should have had reason to fear the event, had we not happily met the battalion of Swiss, who sustained the shock, and gave us time to rally and renew the fight. My

* Charles de Valois, natural son of Charles IX. He is mentioned hereafter. It is upon the relation of this count, afterwards duke of Angoulême, that father Daniel, in his history of France, vol. IX. has given a description of this battle, to which nothing can be added, and differs but little from that in our Memoirs. See also father Matthieu, vol. II. p. 14, and following. Cayet, vol. I. book ii. fol. 263, and following. The Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. p. 597, and the physician Du Chesne's account, &c. This battle was fought on Wednesday, September the 20th: it began at ten o'clock in the morning, and ended at eleven. The duke of Maienne, five days before, made several attempts upon Dieppe, which were called *escarmouches du Pollet.* "My companion," said Henry IV, to Arreguer, colonel of the regiment of Soleure, "I come to die, or to gain honour with you." "He "drove back the treacherous Germans," &c. Le Grain, book v. "My "father," said this prince, to colonel Galati, "keep a pike for me, for I will "fight at the head of your battalion." Matthieu, ibid. p. 14. After the battle, he wrote to Grillon in these terms, "Hang thyself, brave Grillon, "for we have fought at Arques without thee. Adieu, brave Grillon, I love "thee whether I will or not."

† John Babou, count of Sagonne. Lewis de Rohan, and Josias de la Rochefoucault, counts of Montbazon and de Roussy, also lost their lives there.

horse that moment falling dead of his wounds, I mounted a fresh one. To vanquish the brave resistance of our Swiss, the enemy ordered five hundred horse to march along the side of the morass: they would have taken us in the rear, and have easily overwhelmed the Swiss, and the rest of the soldiers, but luckily approaching too near the morass, they remained entangled in the mire, and their riders with difficulty disengaged themselves and fled, leaving their horses and lances sticking there.

While things were in this state of uncertainty, the greater part of us without either swords or pistols to defend ourselves, and more inclined to retreat than fight, I was requested to go to the king and inform him of our condition, and to entreat him to send us some reinforcement of cavalry; I found him in the low ground, and when I told him my errand, he replied: "My "friend, I have no supplies to send you; but you must "not loose courage on that account:" he, however, called M. le Grand,* and ordered him to collect as many fresh horsemen as he could, and to accompany me; as soon as I had pointed out the post he was to occupy I returned to my companions, and cheered them with the news of the succours the king had sent: we all prepared again for the charge, but we had scarcely done so when the whole of the enemy's army was observed marching directly upon us; every one now thought of retreating, and the king with great hazard gained the intrenchments at the end of the causeway. When every thing seemed thus lost, the fog, which had been very thick all the morning, cleared suddenly away, and afforded the garrison in the castle of Arques a full view

* Roger de St. Sarry of Bellegarde.

of the enemy's army, against which they discharged four pieces of artillery with such effect as to kill great numbers of them; this stopped their progress, and the guns from the castle continuing to play upon them, they were soon thrown into disorder and retreated to their original position.

The king, after an action which covered him with glory, retired to Arques, from thence he went to Dieppe, harassed continually by the enemy, and engaged in frequent skirmishes; the details of which I suppress, as having nothing very interesting in them. The king, however, in one of these rencounters, was exposed to great danger: for, believing the enemy at a distance, he was exercising a kind of military game in a meadow, when he was fired upon by two hundred fusileers, who lay in ambush on the ground between two hedges, not more than two hundred paces from the place where we were.

Any other than Henry would have sunk under these difficulties, before he could have been relieved by the supplies which were preparing for him; but by his valour,* and his skill in disputing the ground, he gave time for four thousand English and Scotch, that queen Elizabeth sent him, to join him;† and this rein-

* "Sixtus V presaged, that the Bearnois would be the uppermost, since he was not longer in bed than the duke of Maienne was at table. The duke of Maienne was extremely slow in all his motions. 'If he does not act in another manner,' said the king, 'I shall certainly beat him always in the field.'" Perefixe, ibid. 2. The same pope, after the battle of Arques, applied these words to Henry IV. *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem, et draconem:* meaning by the asp the duke of Maienne, the duke of Savoy by the basilisk, the king of Spain by the lion, and himself by the dragon.

† These forces were commanded by lord Willoughby, sir Thomas Wilford, sir John Burroughs, sir Thomas Darcy, and sir Thomas Baskervill. Elizabeth sent the king also a supply of money. EDIT.

forcement was soon after followed by one more considerable, which was brought him by the count of Soissons, Henry of Orleans, duke of Longueville, D'Aumont, and Biron. It was owing to the count of Soissons that he was so often in danger at Dieppe, who amused himself with disputing about the command of the forces, instead of hastening to the king's assistance.

The duke of Maïenne durst not wait for the junction of all these troops; he disappeared with his army, and left the king master of the field. Henry then changed his resolution of remaining in Normandy, and set out again for Paris, which he had quitted with regret. He passed through Meulan and Poissy,* and from thence dispatched me with the duke of Montpensier,† to endeavour to obtain possession of Vernon, either by means of the friends we had in the place, or the alarm the king's approach might occasion; but we did not succeed in either of these designs; the duke of Montpensier therefore went back to Normandy, and I joined the king at Villepreux.

Henry's design was to alarm Paris, and, as he saw opportunity, attempt to make himself master of it. He had taken the precaution to send persons to break down the bridge of St. Maixance,‡ by which the duke of Maïenne might be able to succour this great city; for that general, alarmed by the king's march, had also drawn near Paris on the opposite side, that he might not meet the king. Henry therefore gave the necessary

* These towns are upon the Seine.

† Francis de Bourbon Montpensier prince of the blood, the only son of Francis and Renée of Anjou, at that time seven and twenty years old. Henry III took the government of Bretagne from him without any cause, to bestow it on the duke of Mercœur. He soon had reason to repent of it.

‡ Upon the river Oise.

orders for attacking all the suburbs on the side where he lay, at the same time: that of St. Germain fell to monsieur d'Aumont, de Chatillon, and me. As soon as the signal was given, we fell upon this suburb, where we had an immense, though confused and terrified multitude to oppose; we hemmed in two large bodies near the market of St. Germain, and there, in a less space than two hundred paces, we left four hundred of them dead. I could hardly prevail upon myself to kill men already half dead with fear: but putting them out of a condition to resist us, we passed, and advanced as far as the gate of Nesle, which had been left open, and through which fifteen or twenty of us penetrated into the city opposite the Font-neuf: but perceiving that our men did not follow us, we turned back: an order from the king to give over the attack was the cause of their abandoning us. The person whom he had sent to demolish the bridge of St. Maixance* had performed this commission so ill, that the duke of Maïenne appeared within sight of Paris with his whole army, at the same moment that we entered it. This convinced the king that his enterprise was no longer practicable, and that if he even should make himself master of the city, which would infallibly have happened, at least on the side we had attacked, an army thus dispersed in a city of such vast extent as Paris, would have been in

* De Thou observes, that the guard of this bridge was given to William de Montmorentcy, lord of Thoré; but being indisposed at Senlis, he could not defend it. Book xcvii. This attack was made on All-saints day, upon advice sent by James Corbinelly, a Florentine gentleman, to Henry IV, in these three words, "Come, come, come," written on a bit of paper, which the bearer inclosed in a quill, and held in his mouth; it failed from a want of cannon to beat down the gates. Matthieu, vol. II. book i. p. 17. Cayet. vol. I. p. 276.

danger of being overpowered: having at the same time to reduce an immense population within, and an army to fight against without, which would either enter with us, or keep us besieged there. It was thus that this prince, tempering so happily courage with prudence, never suffered his ardour in battle to prevent him from following the calmer dictates of wisdom. He was satisfied with throwing terror into the very heart of that city which had dared to despise him, and with showing it what it had to dread from him. Part of the suburbs were pillaged: our soldiers left nothing in that of St. Germain,* they could conveniently carry away. I obtained for my share three thousand crowns, and all my men gained very considerable booty.

Two days after this affair, the king went to Estampes,† from whence he sent me to Rosny to act in that quarter, and resuming his first design of showing himself in the heart of the kingdom, went towards Tours, and in a short time took a great many little towns in Touraine,‡ Anjou, Maine, and Lower Normandy. He left some troops with the marshal Biron, who through

* "The sieurs de Châtillon, and La Nouë," says Le Grain, book v. "assaulted the suburbs of St. Germain, Bussy, and Nesle, which were richer and more magnificent than the others, and where they expected to find most resistance, as well on account of the fine houses which are in the suburb St. Germain, which makes it equal to the second city in France, as of the abbey St. Germain, which was fortified. Châtillon showed that he remembered St. Bartholomew's day, and that he was resolved to expiate the murder, and appease the manes of the admiral his father."

† In Beauce.

‡ Alençon, Le Mans, Chateau Briant, Sable, Chateau-Gontier, Maienne, Laval, Argentan, Falaise, Lisieux, Baieux, Ponteau de Mer, Pont l'Evêque, Honfleur, Havre-de-Grace, Donfront, &c. De Thou, book xcvii. D'Aubigné, Vol. III. book iii. chap. 4, &c. See also the Memoirs of the League, and particular accounts of these expeditions printed at that time.

my suggestions took Evreux, without cannon; while here, I drove the troops of the league from before Antfreville. The king gave me all the countries about Mante and Rosny to guard, with a small body of troops, with which I narrowly missed seizing the duke d'Aumale, as he passed through the forest of Rosny.

I cannot give a more circumstantial account than this of actions of little importance, and must even suppress the greatest part of them, as it is neither possible, nor necessary, to relate at length facts in themselves so inconsiderable. I forewarn the public therefore to expect in these memoirs a detail only of important events: such as I have been a witness to, or what regards the king himself; and if I should add any others, they will be those, the truth of which I can warrant from the authenticity of those memoirs which have fallen into my hands. As for the rest, it will be sufficient just to point them out, that the reader may from thence form an idea of the condition, and affairs of Henry the Great, in different periods of time. It was to relieve my memory, that I at first committed such particulars as most struck me, to paper; especially those conversations I had with the king, or he with others, either upon war, or politics, which I conceived might be of great use to me. This prince, who perceived it by my sometimes repeating exactly what had fallen from him on these subjects, commanded me to put my work in some order, and to enlarge it. I found some difficulty in obeying him, for my style was none of the best: and I would gladly have been excused: but upon repeated commands from his majesty, and his promising to correct it with his own hand, I resumed and continued the work with more assiduity.

Such was the rise of these memoirs. But to return to my subject.

IV. The army of the league sitting down before Pontoise* took it, and afterwards laid siege to Meulan. As I looked upon this place to be of great importance, to the king, I endeavoured by all the methods I could think of, to supply it with powder,† and to introduce some person into it on whom I could depend, to prevail upon the besieged to hold out till assistance, which was very near, should arrive; this I performed by making a man swim over to it: and in the mean time sent to inform the king of what had passed, and to request supplies. My repeated solicitations determined him to come to Meulan himself; but it was with great unwillingness that he left other places where his presence was no less necessary: before he set out, he wrote to me in these words: "Your importunity brings me to the "assistance of Meulan; if any thing unfortunate should "happen, I shall never cease to reproach you for it." It would indeed have appeared very surprising, if no misfortune had happened; for the king leaving all his infantry before Honfleur, brought with him so small a force, that it was impossible for him to sustain the attack of a whole army which then pressed Meulan, and would not fail to attack him as soon as it was known how ill he was attended. This I took the liberty to represent to him: and, in effect, he had no sooner left Verneuil‡ to proceed to Ivry,§ than going out to reconnoitre, I saw the whole army of the league, which was

* In the Isle of France.

† The duke of Sully is mentioned with distinction in the relation of this siege by de Thou, book xcviii, and father Mathieu, vol. II. p. 22.

‡ In Perche. § Upon the river Bure, bishopric of Evreux.

no doubt informed of his march, making directly towards him, which obliged him to turn back to Verneuil. It was not usual for this prince to give ground before his enemies, nor did he now without great regret. In the first transports of his rage, he reproached me as the cause of his suffering this disgrace: "I see," said he, "that for the sake of saving your own lands, you "have made no difficulty of bringing my life in danger!" "Sire," I replied, "I did not request you to come without "your army: if you had brought it with you, the siege "would have been raised by this time." It was not difficult for me to justify myself: and this prince, who well knew the importance of such a place as Meulan, gave orders for all his army to join him.

This produced the effect which I had promised myself. The enemy, seeing the army on its march, withdrew their cannon which was on this side the river, and without wholly raising the siege, abandoned the care of it, to guard against a surprise.

I sent the king advice of this proceeding, and he thought it necessary to hasten his march, to prevent any accident which might occasion the loss of Meulan, and sent me the scouts of his army, that while I waited for his arrival, I might be able to give the besiegers some trouble. He arrived soon after, and entered the fort, where being desirous of observing the enemy's army, he ascended with some of us, into a belfry.* The besiegers at that moment directing a battery against this belfry, demolished the staircase, which obliged the king, and all of us that were with him, to descend by means of a cord, and a stick passed between our legs.

* "As Henry IV was ascending the belfry of St. Nicaise, a cannon ball passed between his legs." Matthieu, ibid 24.

In the afternoon, the king ordered four pieces of cannon to be raised in this place; which was contrary to my opinion; for I foresaw that the enemy would quickly dismount them, which really happened before we could derive the least advantage from them, and the besiegers fired there so furiously all day, that we were not able to remove the guns till night. The enemy, who took care to have the river between them and the king, made a terrible attack upon the bridge on that side, and gained nearly half of it; but this was their last effort. The king posting himself at Orgreux, they were afraid of being overcome, and suddenly decamped.

The marquis of Alegre* had better success, and seized Rouen for the league. I received the news of it at Rosny. The king, whose whole attention it had been to hinder the reduction of this place, marched instantly to Rouen; but upon his arrival at Gaillon, he learnt that the misfortune was without remedy. In revenge he went to besiege Dreux,† after putting me in garrison in Passy. The duke of Maïenne, who had just been reinforced with the whole Spanish army, passed the river, and spread his troops all round Mante and Rosny, with a resolution to raise the siege. The vanguard of his army, which was conducted by one of my relations, named Rosny, had orders from the general to possess himself of Passy in his way. I gave the king notice of his approach, who replied only, that I might do as I pleased. I resolved, therefore, to defend myself; and although monsieur de Rosny, wrote to me, representing to me that it would be rashness to suffer myself to be stormed in a place that had not even walls, and

* Christopher d'Alegre, governor of Gisors.

† In the bishopric of Evreux.

offered me very advantageous conditions,* yet he could gain nothing upon me. I thanked him for his false complaisance; and, in the night, caused a ditch to be dug, which might in some degree serve the garrison for a shelter. Luckily the enemy had no design to waste time in so inconsiderable a siege, and wanted only to seize the place. As they passed next morning, the noise of the baggage waggons and artillery gave me to understand, that the army had pursued its rout, which drew me out of great perplexity. During the night, which I spent entirely in fortifying Passy, there were very strange appearances in the sky, where I thought I saw distinctly two armies fighting furiously against each other.† I know not whether this object was real, or an illusion, but it made such an impression on my mind, that I was not surprised at receiving a letter next day from the king, wherein he informed me that the duke of Maïenne's army, joined to the Spaniards, had approached with a design to offer him battle; that he had

* Father Matthieu mentions this fact, exactly in the same manner as it is here; he even relates the duke of Sully's reply, in the very words he made use of: "Here is the king ready to give battle; tell the duke of Maienne to think how he is to win it; and then I will consider whether I ought to lose it." The only difference between them is, that this officer of the enemy, who is here called Rosny, was, according to Matthieu, the baron de Rosne, one of the general officers of the league: in this however, he is mistaken.

† Davila, who also takes notice of this phenomenon, book xi. describes it in this manner, "The thunder and lightning, sometimes mingled with horrid darkness, added to their terrors; and such a flood of rain poured suddenly down, that the whole army was alarmed. A prodigious apparition which appeared in the sky as soon as it had ceased to rain, increased the general dismay; for during the noise of the thunder, at which the boldest amongst them trembled, two great armies were distinctly seen in the air, that after continuing some time engaged in fight, disappeared, covered with a thick cloud; so that the event of the battle was not seen."

waited for it till the evening of that day on which he wrote to me, but that the whole day had been passed in skirmishing, making lodgments, and securing advantages, and that the general action was put off till the next. His letter concluded with these words, "I conjure "you then to come, and bring with you as many of the "forces as you can, particularly your own company, "and the two companies of Badit and James's horse-"arquebusiers; for I know them, and am resolved to "make use of them upon this occasion."

I was sensible that, without extraordinary dispatch, I should arrive too late for the battle with these companies, which I foresaw the king would be in great need of, as he was much inferior in numbers to the enemy. I therefore lost not a moment, and was fortunate enough to arrive an hour and half before the battle began. The king ordered me to send my company to the right wing, where his own squadron was, to which he joined it; and ordering the two companies of arquebusiers to dismount, designing to make use of them as the forlorn hope, he sent their horses amongst the baggage; after this, he bid me follow him to view the disposition of the two armies, "in order," he added "that you may learn your trade." He had no sooner placed himself at the head of his squadron* than the trumpets sounded the charge.

* My companions," said he, addressing himself to his squadron, "if today you run my fortune, I also run yours. I am resolved to die, or conquer with you; keep your ranks, I beseech you, and if you should quit them in the heat of the battle, rally immediately; this will gain the victory; you will do it between those three trees which you see there upon the right; and if you should lose sight of your standards and colours, keep my white plume of feathers always in view; there you will find the road to victory and glory." Perefixe, ibid. 2d part. "They lost sight of him in the battle, where,

I shall not here encroach upon the historian's right; I leave it to him to relate all the particulars of this battle, and shall confine myself only to what I was an eye-witness of. It is sufficient to say that upon this occasion, what gave the victory to the weaker party, was the valour of the marshal d'Aumont, who prevented the entire defeat of the light horse; the great difference between the enemy's manner of using their artillery and ours; and, above all, the uncommon abilities of the king, (which were never so perfectly known as in the day of battle,) in the disposition of his troops, rallying them, their discipline, and their prompt and entire obedience.

It is certain the duke of Maïenne and the count of Egmont; who were at the head of the Spaniards, imagined that if the king ventured to wait for them, the victory would be theirs; and that, if he yielded or gave ground before them, as they expected, they depended upon nothing less than forcing him out of whatever place he should retreat to, and thus finish the war by a single blow. With such dispositions, what must be the consequence? I say nothing of the generals, who alone are worth many thousand men. The stronger party never makes use of those precautions that are necessary against an enemy of equal strength; and the weaker never forms a resolution to defend itself against a more numerous army, without determining likewise to supply by valour and address, the deficiency of numbers. Danger, which inspires a courage animated by glory and difficulties, reduces both sides to a kind of equality.

accompanied only by twelve or thirteen persons, he was surrounded by the enemy. He killed the count of Egmont's equerry with his own hand. 'We must use our pistols,' said he to his troop; the more men the more glory." Matthieu, Vol. II. book i. p. 26, &c.

The king's squadron, in which I was, had the attacks of the count of Egmont to sustain,* who fell upon us with his own squadron, and another of a thousand, or twelve hundred German horse. It is true, the Germans, who profest the same religion as our soldiers, fired their pieces in the air; but the count of Egmont behaved like a man who was resolved to conquer. He charged us with such fury, that, notwithstanding the desertion of the Germans, after a terrible fire, and an encounter which lasted a full quarter of an hour, in which the ground was covered with dead bodies, the left of our squadron fled, and the right was broken and gave ground. At the first onset, my horse was wounded by a musket shot, which passed through his nostrils and struck his shoulder, and soon after a thrust of a spear

* See upon this action De Thou, book xcviii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. chap. 3. Le Grain, book v. The Memoirs of the League. Father Matthieu, idem. The Chron. Novenn. of Cayet, vol. II. fol. 327, and an account printed in 1590, and others.

De Thou and Cayet observe, that Henry the Fourth's artillery had fired nine times before the duke of Maienne's began; they also blame the duke for having disposed his army in the form of a crescent, like Henry's, when, being superior in number, he ought to have given it the form of a triangle. According to Matthieu, Henry IV was guilty of a great fault, in not beginning the battle, by falling upon the light horse commanded by Du Terrail, and upon the duke of Maienne's body, who, having advanced too far, was obliged to go half a league about in retreating. It appears, that the cavalry only fought there; and, if we believe Le Grain, twelve hundred horse defeated an army of twenty thousand men. But here is a little exaggeration. The king's army was composed of about two thousand cavalry, and six or seven thousand infantry; and that of the league consisted of five thousand horse, and eight thousand foot. The count of Egmont, who had boasted that his squadron alone was sufficient to subdue the royal army, was slain in the fight. He was the son of L'Amoral d'Egmont, who was beheaded at Brussels with the count of Horne. It is said, that when he came to Paris, the person who complimented him, mixed in his discourse some praises of L'Amoral his father: "Do not mention him," he replied; "he "was a rebel, and deserved to die."

carried away a large piece of the skin of his belly, and part of the thick of my leg; I received another wound in my hand; a pistol-shot gave me a third more considerable: the ball entered my hip and came out near my groin: while I was in this condition, I was relieved by the kindness of my equerry, who brought me another horse, upon which I mounted, though with great difficulty. At a second charge, this horse was likewise slain, and in the same moment I received a pistol-shot in the thigh, and a cut with a sword on the head. I fell to the earth, and with my senses lost all the remaining part of the action, which, from the advantage the count of Egmont had already gained, boded no good to us. All I know is, that a long time after, recovering my senses, I saw neither enemies, nor any of my domestics near me, whom terror, and the disorder, had dispersed: another presage which appeared to me no less unfavourable. I retired without a head-piece, and almost without armour, for mine had been battered to pieces. In this condition I saw a trooper of the enemy's running towards me, with an intention to take away my life. By good fortune I found myself near a pear-tree, to which I crept, and with that little motion I was still able to exert, made such good use of the branches, which were extremely low, that I evaded all my adversary's attempts, and kept him at a distance, till being weary with turning round the tree, he at last quitted me: Feuquieres had not the like good fortune; he was killed that moment before my eyes. Just then La Rocheforêt (who has since become one of my attendants) passing by, I asked him for a little nag which he was leading, and paid him for it upon the spot thirty crowns; for it was always my

opinion that on such occasions it is proper to carry a little money about one.

Thus mounted, I was going to learn news of the battle, when I saw seven of the enemy approach, one of whom carried the white standard belonging to the duke of Maïenne. I thought it impossible to escape this new danger, and upon their crying out, "*Qui vive?*" I told my name, as being ready to surrender myself a prisoner; but how was I astonished when, instead of attacking me, I found four of these persons intreating me to receive them for prisoners, and to save their lives; and while they ranged themselves about me, appear rejoiced at this meeting! I granted their request: and it seemed so surprising to me, that four men unhurt, and well armed, should surrender themselves to a single man, disarmed, covered with his own blood, mounted upon a little paltry nag, and scarce able to support himself, that I was tempted to take all I saw for an illusion. But I was soon convinced of the truth of it. My prisoners (since they would be so) made themselves known to be monsieurs de Châtaigneraie, * de Sigogne, de Chanteloup, and d'Aufreville. They told me that the duke of Maïenne had lost the battle; that the king was that instant in pursuit of the vanquished, which had obliged them to surrender for fear of falling into worse hands, their horses not being in a condition to carry them out

* John de Vivonne, lord of Châtaigneraie.—Charles de Beausoncle, lord of Sigogne, cornet of the duke of Maienne's company. The historians take notice of the prisoners monsieur de Rosny took in this encounter, and the wounds he received, seven in number. It was for some time believed that Henry IV was slain. What gave rise to this false report was the marquis of Nesle, who was that day drest like the king, being surrounded by the enemy, and wounded in several places, of which he died. Matthieu, ib.

of danger; at the same time Sigogne, in token of surrender, presented me with the white standard. The three others, who were the duke of Nemours,* the chevalier d'Aumale, and Tremont, not seeming inclined to surrender, I endeavoured to persuade them to do so, but in vain. After recommending their companions to me, seeing a body of the king's troops advance, they rode away, and shewed me that their horses were still vigorous enough to bear them from their enemies.

I advanced with my prisoners towards a battalion of Swiss, and meeting one of the king's chief pages, I gave him the standard, as I was not able to carry it any longer on account of my wounds. I now saw more plainly the marks of our victory: the field was full of the fugitive leaguers and Spaniards, and the victorious army of the king pursuing† and scattering the remains of the larger bodies, which had dispersed, and were again drawing together. The Swiss soldiers of the two armies, meeting, bullied each other, with their pikes lowered, without striking a blow or making any other motion.

* Charles of Savoy duke of Nemours.

† "The king cried, 'Spare the French,' and fall upon the foreigners." Perefixe, ibid. part 2d. "Henry," says the author of the Henriade, "owed this victory to the superiority of his skill and valour. But he confessed that Maienne had performed all the duties of a great general; he had "no fault," said he, "but in the cause he supported." The duke of Maienne would have been taken, but for his precaution in breaking down the bridge of Ivry as he fled. But by that means he exposed the German horse and foot to be slaughtered there, twelve hundred of which were killed upon the spot, a like number of French infantry, and a thousand horse. Some have made the loss much greater. Of the royalists, five hundred private men, and about twenty gentlemen were killed. This battle was fought between Dreux and Nonancourt, at the villages of St. André and Foucrainville.

The white standard embroidered with black flowers-de-luce, was known by every one to be that of the Guises, which they bore in memory, and through horror, of the assassination of Blois, and drew great numbers to it, as a prey equally rich and honourable. The black velvet coats of my prisoners, which were covered with silver crosses, glittered from afar in the field. The first who flew to seize them, were messieurs de Cambrai, de L'Archant, du Rollet, de Crevecœur, de Palcheux, and de Brasseuse, who were joined by the count de Torigny. I advanced towards them, and supposing they would not know my face, disfigured by blood and dust, I named myself. The count de Torigny no sooner knew La Châtaigneraie, who was his relation, than judging that, in the condition he saw me, I should not be able to preserve my prisoners from insult, he intreated me to give Châtaigneraie to his care, for whom he said he would be answerable; I readily granted his request, yet it was with regret that I saw him go away. What Torigny did through a principle of friendship had a fatal consequence for the unhappy Châtaigneraie: some moments after he was known by three men belonging to d'O's company, who had been guard to Henry III, who levelling their pieces at him, shot him dead, crying out, "'Sdeath! thou traitor to thy king, whom thou didst "murder, and triumphed in the deed." This I learnt from the count de Torigny himself, when I inquired of him respecting my prisoner, whose ransom, many persons said, he was bound to pay me, and even advised me to demand it of him; but I did not chose to do this, as well from Châtaigneraie having been my particular friend, as from the affliction I knew Torigny felt at his unhappy fate.

I soon saw myself surrounded by many persons, amongst whom there was not one that did not envy my good fortune. D'Andelot* came after the rest, and passing through the crowd, perceived Sigogne, and the page who carried the standard. He was preparing to seize it, believing his good fortune had preserved this prize for him, when a report that the enemy had rallied, obliged him to depart abruptly. I had not time to undeceive him; for after he had bid the page keep the standard for him, he suddenly disappeared. The news was found to be false, and had no other foundation than the arrival of two hundred soldiers from Picardy, which messieurs de Mouy† and de la Boissiere had brought to the duke of Maïenne.

Being now disengaged from the crowd, and finding myself in need of help, especially for the wound in my hip, by which I lost a great deal of blood, I advanced with my prize to the head of Vignole's‡ regiment, which had behaved bravely in the battle. Here, fearing no further surprise, I asked for a surgeon to bind up my wound, and desired some wine to prevent fainting, which I found coming upon me. My strength being a little renewed, I got to Anet, the keeper of which gave me an apartment, where I caused the first dressing to be put on my wounds in the presence of the marshal Biron, who spent a few moments there after my arrival, and took some refreshment in my chamber; he was conducting the corps de reserve, which he com-

* Charles de Coligny, marquis D'Andelot, one of the admiral de Coligny's sons.

† Charles D'Humieres. The volume of manuscripts in the king's library, marked 8930, is filled with his great actions.—Charles, Marquis de Mouy, or Moy.—Christopher de Lanoy de Boissiere, governor of Corbie.

‡ Bertrand de Vignoles.

manded, to the king, who, without stopping after his victory, had passed the river Eure, in pursuit of the enemy, and, as I was told, took the road at last to Rosny, where he lay the same night.*

After the marshal Biron was gone, d'Andelot arrived at Anet, full of resentment against me for taking away his prize, for so he thought it. He entered my chamber attended by five or six armed men, and with an air equally fierce and insulting, demanded an explanation, or rather thought to do himself justice; for perceiving the white standard, which, with that belonging to my company, had been placed at the head of my bed, he

* "That night he supped at the castle of Rosny. Being informed, that "the Marshal d'Aumont was come to give him an account of what he had "done, he rose up to meet him, and embracing him affectionately, made "him sit down at his table, with these obliging words, that it was but just, "that he who had served him so well at his nuptials, should share the feast." Perefixe, ibid. 2d part.

Monsieur de Perefixe, in the same place, relates another circumstance, which does honour to the king. "He remembered that, the evening before "the battle, he had used some harsh expressions to colonel Theodoric "Schomberg, who had asked him for money, and told him in a passion, that "it was not acting like a man of honour to demand money, when he came "to take orders for fighting. He afterwards went to him, when he was "ranging his troops in order, and said, 'Colonel, we are now upon the "point; perhaps I shall never go from this place; it is not just that I should "deprive a brave gentleman as you are of your honour; I come therefore to "declare, that I know you to be an honourable man, and incapable of com-"mitting a base action.' Saying this, he embraced him with great affec-"tion. The colonel, sensibly moved with this behaviour, replied, with tears "in his eyes, 'Ah! Sire, in restoring to me my honour, you take away my "life; for after this I should be unworthy of your favour, if I did not sacri-"fice it to-day for your service. If I had a thousand lives, I would lay "them all at your feet.' In fact, he was killed upon this occasion." Ibid.

The marshal Biron, who, at the head of the corps de reserve, had greatly contributed towards this victory, said to Henry IV, "Sire, you have per-"formed what Biron should, and Biron has done that which the king ought "to have done."

would have taken possession of it by force, without attending to what I said. I changed my tone immediately, and high words passed between us. In the condition in which I was, I could do no more. But he speaking with fury, and making use of threats, the noise drew fifteen or twenty of my troopers into the chamber, at the sight of whom d'Andelot, restraining his rage, went out, commanding Sigogne to follow him, which he refused, and endeavoured, but in vain, to make him comprehend the injustice of his pretensions.

The next morning I was carried by water to Passy, intending to go to Rosny, to finish my cure. On my arrival at Passy, I learned that part of the soldiers in my train, and my valets, with all my baggage, had retired thither, not knowing what was become of me, and intimidated by a report which was spread, that the king had lost the battle. Being apprehensive of the reproaches I might make them, they kept themselves concealed. I caused them to be sought for, but they were so much ashamed of their cowardice, that the following night they fled away on foot, leaving in a stable four of their own horses, which, after all search had been made for their owners, but in vain, I ordered to be sold, and distributed the money amongst such of their wounded companions as were least able to pay for medical aid.

As I was not in a condition to mount a horse, I ordered a kind of litter, composed of the branches of trees, with the bark on, fastened together by the hoops of some casks, to be made for me in haste, as I learnt that Mante (to the government of which I had a claim) had capitulated, and travelled by Beurons, to avoid the ascents and declivities of Rougevoie and Chatillon.

Maignan, who was a youth of a lively imagination, thought proper to give this journey the air of a little triumph: two of the grooms of my stable were at the head of this train, each leading one of my finest horses; they were followed by two of my pages, one of whom rode my horse which was first wounded in the battle, as already mentioned, and which running about the field of battle, was fortunately known by three of my arquebusiers. This page carried my cuirass, and the duke of Maienne's standard, the other bore my bracelets, and my helmet, so bruised that it was no longer of any use. My equerry, the contriver of this diverting scene, marched next, with his head bound up, and his arm in a scarf; he was followed by Moreines, my valet de chambre, drest in my coat of orange-coloured velvet, spangled with silver, and mounted upon my English nag, holding in his hand, as a trophy, a bundle of the shivers of my pistols, the broken pieces of my swords, and the tattered remains of my plume of feathers. The litter in which I lay came next, covered only with a cloth, upon which they had hung the black velvet coats of my prisoners, with their plumes, and pieces of their pistols and swords at the four corners. The prisoners themselves followed my litter, and preceded the rest of my domestics; after whom, ranged in order, came my own company of soldiers, and the march was closed with James and Badet's two companies of arquebusiers; they had suffered so much in the battle, that there was not one of them who had not his head bound up, and his arm in a scarf, and some of these brave soldiers were even obliged to be carried by their companions.

When we came near Beurons, we perceived all the plain covered with horses and dogs, and presently the

king himself, who, after a slight repast, had returned from Rosny to Mante, and was hunting there in my chase. This little ovation seemed to please him; he thought it very happily disposed, and smiled at the vanity of Maignan, who had the honour of being known to the king, ever since his father, who was a very brave man, had made himself remarkable at the taking of Eause. The king approached my litter, and in the sight of his whole train, disdained not to give me such proofs of tenderness and concern, as (if I may be allowed the expression) one friend would do to another. I could not express my gratitude by throwing myself at his feet, but I assured him, and with truth, that I would gladly suffer a thousand times more for his service. He inquired, with an obliging solicitude, whether all my wounds were of such a nature, that I might hope to be cured without mutilating any part of my body; which he thought almost impossible, knowing that I had been thrown down senseless, and trampled under the horses feet. When he was convinced that I had nothing to fear, he cast himself on my neck, and turning to the princes and noblemen who followed him, he said aloud, that he honoured me with the title of a true and honest knight, a title which he said, he thought superior to that of a knight-companion of his orders. Being apprehensive that I should hurt myself by speaking too much, he put an end to this agreeable conversation with his usual protestation, that I should share in whatever good fortune heaven should send him; and concluded by saying: "Farewell, my friend, take care of yourself, and "depend upon it, you have a good master;" and without suffering me to reply, gallopped off to pursue the chase about Mante.

BOOK IV.

1590 to 1592.

I. A mutiny in Henry's army after the battle of Ivry; dissipation of the finances, and other causes of the little advantages he derived from his victory. Cities taken; fruitless attempts on others.—II. The taking of the suburbs of Paris; siege of that city; the causes which obliged Henry to raise it; the prince of Parma leads an army thither; his encampment, and other military details; an error committed by Henry: he obliges the prince of Parma to retire; the siege of Chartres: an adventure wherein Rosny is in danger of being killed: he retires to Rosny in discontent. Success of Henry the Fourth's arms; the taking of Corbie, Noyon, &c. an enterprise upon Mante. The duke of Montpensier's expeditions in Normandy.—III. preparations for the seige of Rouen; conduct of the siege; mutual animosities between the soldiers and officers of Henry's army. The prince of Parma re-enters France. Insolence of the council of sixteen. Henry advances to meet the prince of Parma. An enterprize badly seconded by the duke of Nevers. The battle of Aumale.—IV. Henry raises the siege of Rouen: movements of the two hostile armies, in the neighbourhood of that city. Observations upon them. A glorious exploit of the prince of Parma at the passage of the Seine; Henry's army refuses to pursue him; causes of this refusal.

I. THE same day that the king gained the battle of Ivry, his party also prevailed in Auvergne,* where Randan† commanded the troops of the league; but fortune, as it should seem, when she gave this prince success sufficient to put him in possession of many crowns, took pleasure, at the same time, in producing circumstances which hindered the effect, and left him no other fruit

* At Issoire. See an account of it in Cayet, ibid. 329. De Thou, &c.

† John Lewis de la Rochefoucault, count of Randan.

of his victories than the sole glory of having conquered. After the battle of Ivry, the terror and consternation of the whole party of the league were so great, that it seemed hardly possible for the king, who was now resolved to let slip none of his advantages, to have failed of drawing most important ones from the present posture of his affairs; but he little expected to see them ravished from him by a general mutiny in his army, particularly of the Swiss, who refused to advance a step farther, till they were paid those sums the king owed them.

At this time Henry had neither money nor means in readiness to raise any. He came to Mante, to demand some of the superintendant of the finances; this man, who secretly hated the king, and beheld his success with grief, took pleasure in adding to his perplexities, and had but one answer to make to all his solicitations. In this period of confusion, when the royal treasure became a prey to the first possessor, it was very difficult to manage the finances, and the king's revenues were scarcely sufficient to satisfy the avarice of the receivers, who generally enrich themselves by the public misery. Henry wanted that absolute authority, which alone was able to check them, and still more the means of convicting them of peculation; for he had not then the slightest knowledge of financial affairs. Notwithstanding this, he entered into a detail which became necessary for him, and obliged d'O* to deliver up certain sums, which it was not difficult to prove he had receiv-

* Francis d'O, lord d'O, de Maillebois, and de Fresne, master of the wardrobe to Henry III, first gentleman of the chamber, superintendant of the finances, governor of Paris, and isle of France. He will be mentioned hereafter.

ed. These sums the king made use of to pacify his soldiers; but this affair took up at least five days, during which he could not leave Mante, and consequently could derive no advantage from his victory. I remember to have heard this prince declare, that he now, for the first time in his whole life, saw himself in a situation to convert his desires into designs: "I have often had desires," said he, "but never yet have found a fit "opportunity to form designs." He gave the same meaning to this last expression that all wise men ought to give; a scheme, the success of which is secured by reflection and prudence: in this sense, it is true that every one can desire what to him seems advantageous, without injuring any one; but fools only rashly engage in designs, without any appearance of succeeding in them.

During the king's stay at Mante, d'Andelot went to him to complain of me, and he gave himself the trouble to come to Rosny, that he might hear us both. D'Andelot was there generally condemned, and the raillery his ridiculous claim drew upon him from the principal officers, made such an impression on his mind, that he went over to the party of the league. I did not think the same justice was done me with regard to the government of Mante, the taking of which was almost the only consequence of the battle of Ivry. The king, of whom I requested this post, bestowed it on a Catholic,* at which I could not refrain from expressing my discontent. I confess, to my shame, that if I had seriously considered the situation the king was then in, every moment upon the point of being abandoned by the foreigners for want of payment, and those Catholics who were in his service

* The government of it was given to M. de Rosny's youngest brother.

ready to seize the slightest occasion of discontent, for a pretence to quit him, I should not have murmured, that he granted to a Catholic, who had but little affection to his person, what he refused to a faithful servant. There was more greatness of mind in being satisfied with the friendship of this prince, independent of its effects, than in receiving favours, which he was obliged to grant through policy, and the necessity of the times.

All obstacles being removed, the king advanced with his troops, took Dreux, and marched towards Sens, which he expected would surrender through a correspondence he held within the city; but in this he was disappointed, and, unwilling, to come so far in vain, and being besides informed that the place was destitute of ammunition, he undertook the siege of it. It was not long before he found himself, through the malice of his secret enemies, in a general want of all things necessary to complete this enterprize, and he was therefore obliged to abandon it. To efface the shame of it, he gave out, that he only raised the siege, in order to go and invest Paris itself, and he took his route thither by Corbeil, Meulan, Lagny, and St. Denis,* which he seized in his way.

II. I was not at any of these sieges: and my wounds were only half cured when I learnt that the king had invested Paris. I could not resist the desire I had to be present at this enterprize: I therefore set out, though with my arm in a scarf, and supported by two crutches. The king, forgetting all my complaints respecting Mante, received me with his usual goodness, and ordered me to stay near his person: he communicated to me the design he had formed upon Paris, all the suburbs of

* Cities of the isle of France.

which he was resolved to make himself master of at the same time, in order to deprive the city of the subsistence it drew from them, such as fruit, vegetables, &c. He chose a very dark night to begin the attack, in order that he might have a better view of the effect of the artillery: he divided his army into ten divisions, which he ordered to carry the suburbs of St. Antoine, St. Martin, St. Denis, Montmartre, St. Honoré, St. Germain, St. Michael, St. Jacques, St. Marceau, and St. Victoire, after which he withdrew to the abbey of Montmartre, whither he was followed by all the aged, the wounded, and the gentlemen of the robe and pen; he took his station at one of the windows of the abbey, where he ordered a chair to be brought for me, and conversed with M. du Plessis, Rusé, M. de Fresne, and, I believe, M. Alibour,* and myself. The cannonade began about midnight, and continued for upwards of two hours, and with such regularity and effect, that the whole of the city and the suburbs seemed to be in flames: could it have been possible to represent the scene which this night presented: the noise of the combatants, the roar of the cannon and musketry, and the flashes of fire which appeared at intervals, nothing would have been more awful. The king's plan succeeded so well, that all the suburbs were carried nearly at the same instant, and the gates of the town so closely blockaded, that nothing could either go out or enter, which occasioned the greatest distress and misery amongst the wretched inhabitants:† but I leave the recital of these

* Du-Plessis Mornay.—Martin Rusé, lord of Beaulieu, and Peter Forget, lord of Fresne, his majesty's secretaries.—Alibour, his physician.

† Perefixe, Cayet, and many others are of opinion, that the king was withheld from taking Paris by storm, and from yielding to the repeated

melancholy events to the historian, and shall only add here, that if the king had been faithfully obeyed, and the greater part of the officers and other persons in au-

entreaties of his soldiers, particularly the Huguenots, by his having perceived, that on this occasion they were resolved to revenge the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by putting all within Paris to the sword. "The duke of Nemours," says Perefixe, "sent all the useless mouths out of Paris: the king's council opposed his granting them a passage; but he being informed of the dreadful scarcity to which these miserable wretches were reduced, ordered that they should be allowed to pass. 'I am not surprised,' said he, 'that the Spaniards, and the chiefs of the league, have no compassion upon these poor people, they are only tyrants; but for me, who am their father and their king, I cannot hear the recital of their calamities, without being pierced to my inmost soul, and ardently desiring to afford them relief." Perefixe, part 2d. The cardinal de Gondy, bishop of Paris, having been sent during this siege, to make Henry propositions for peace: "I will not dissemble," said he, "but declare my sentiments to you freely: I wish for peace, nay I desire it; for a battle I would lose one finger, and for a general peace two. I love my city of Paris, she is my eldest daughter, I am jealous of her, I am desirous of doing her service, and would grant her more favours than she demands of me; but I would grant them voluntarily, and not be compelled to it by the king of Spain or the duke of Maienne." It must be added that Henry IV expected the Parisians would capitulate before the prince of Parma's arrival. The extremity to which the city was reduced, raised at once compassion and horror: in the space of a month, 30,000 persons died of hunger: mothers fed upon the flesh of their children: by the Spanish ambassador's advice, they dug up the dead bodies, and made use of their bones pounded, to compose a kind of dough. This detestable food cost the greatest part of those who eat of it their lives. See a relation of this in the historians, particularly in the second volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of State, p. 358, &c. Read also the fine verses of the Henriade upon this subject, Canto X. The Parisians owed their safety chiefly to the duke of Nemours, whose gallant defence has been highly praised by our writers. The people seconded him with an obstinate eagerness, which had more of fury than true courage in it. There was a regiment of priests and monks, Capuchins, Folietanis, Carthusians, &c. grotesquely armed above their frocks. This awkward regiment being eager to salute the legate, killed his secretary at his side. The monks of St. Genevieve, St. Victor, the Benedictins, the Celestins, and some others, would take no part in this military masquerade. Cayet's Ch. Novenn. ib. 360.

thority, had not allowed the entry of provisions, in exchange for scarfs, plumes, silk-stockings, gloves, sashes, beavers, and similar articles of dress, the city could not possibly have held out till succoured by the prince of Parma,* whose arrival compelled the king to raise the siege, in the hope, as he said, of giving him battle.† Accordingly, in the beginning of the month of September, 1590, he withdrew his troops in the greatest order and regularity about two hours before day-break, and then appointed a place of general rendezvous, to which he repaired, intending to act according to circumstances. Learning soon after that the prince of Parma had encamped in the environs of Meaux, Henry sent his light cavalry to Claye,‡ with orders to reconnoitre, and take up a position, or at least to learn the disposition of the enemy's army: in doing this several sharp skirmishes took place, which I shall not particularise, as I was not present at any of them: our troops, however, abandoned their post to the enemy, and two days after Claye also, though greatly against the king's will, and that of several of his oldest officers; but the marshal Biron prevailed upon him to do it, and to encamp at Challes,§ which he represented as a much better position: the duke of Parma also moved, and encamped about two

* Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma and Placentia, son to Octavio Farnese, and Margaret of Austria, natural daughter to Charles V. He married Mary of Portugal, by whom he had Ranucio Farnese, duke of Parma, and Edward Farnese, a cardinal.

† De Thou says, that Henry IV was obliged to pretend, that he only raised the siege of Paris in order to go and meet the prince of Parma, and to give him battle; for fear that his soldiers, whom the hopes of the plunder of Paris only had prevailed upon to stay with him, should abandon him. Book xcix.

‡ A town between Paris and Meaux.

§ Another town between Paris and Meaux.

cannon shot from thence, upon a high and steep eminence, at the foot of which, and between the two armies, lay a morass, very difficult to pass, and sufficient to prevent their coming to an action, except to the great disadvantage of whichever should begin the attack. Both armies continued in this position for three or four days, during which there was continual skirmishing. The prince of Parma, however, seized the opportunity to besiege Lagny,* which he took by storm, almost before the king's eyes. Henry, sensible that this laid the way open to the enemy to throw supplies into Paris, the possession of which he had during this time in vain attempted to obtain by means of emissaries which he had in the city, now drew off his whole army towards the river Oise, and fixed his quarters at the castle of Creil,† where he was reduced to great straits and perplexities, on account of this apparent success of the enemy, and the relief of Paris; with his good or bad fortune, the dispositions and affections also changed of those who could not view without regret and envy, the superiority of the Huguenots, the heads of which, even at the slightest reverses, were always magnifying the most trifling errors of the king, and this, added to a want of money, cunningly and purposely created, gave cause of complaint even to his most zealous adherents.‡

* A city of Brie upon the Marne. † A town upon the Oise.

‡ The above account of the attack upon Paris, and Henry's retreat to Creil, is according to the *original* Memoirs of Sully: I shall here subjoin the relation of these two events as given by the compiler of the *modern* Memoirs; it will serve as a striking example of those unjustifiable liberties which he has in too many instances taken with the plain, and simple narrations of the duke of Sully's secretaries. See more on this subject in the preface.—Edit.

"He divided his army into ten small bodies, to equal the number of the suburbs he had to force; and having made choice of the night for the exe-

Notwithstanding all these embarrassments, the king knowing by experience the danger of suffering an army

cution of his scheme, he withdrew to the eminence of Montmartre, that he might send supplies wherever there was occasion for them; he took his station in the abbey, where he was not only followed by the wounded, who could have no share in the glory of that night, but also by all the aged, and the gentlemen of the robe and pen. He made me stay with him at a window, from whence he viewed the attack, during which, he conversed with Du-Plessis, Rusé, de Fresne, Alibour, and myself.

The attack began at midnight, with a frightful discharge of artillery, which was answered by that of the city. Every one thought that this immense city would be destroyed, either by the fire of the artillery, or the flames kindled in the midst of it: never was there a spectacle more capable of inspiring horror. Thick clouds of smoke, through which darted by intervals sparks of fire, or long trains of flame, covered all that space of earth, which, by the vicissitude of light and darkness, seemed now plunged in thick shades of night, and now swallowed up in a sea of fire. The thunder of the artillery, the clashing of arms, and the cries of the combatants, added to this object all that can be imagined terrible, which was farther increased by the natural horror of night. This scene continued two whole hours, and was closed with the reduction of all the suburbs, not excepting that of St. Antoine; although by its great extent we were obliged to begin the attack at a considerable distance. They blocked up the city-gates, so that nothing could enter without the permission of those who guarded them; and the people immediately saw themselves reduced to an excess of misery and famine, which I cannot yet think of without horror.

I must be permitted to pass slightly over this part; I cannot, with any pleasure, enlarge upon so dreadful a subject. The king, naturally compassionate, was moved with the distress of the Parisians: he could not bear the thoughts of seeing this city, the possession of which was destined for him by providence, become one vast cemetery. He secretly permitted every thing that could contribute to its relief, and affected not to observe the supplies of provisions which the officers and soldiers suffered to enter the city, either out of compassion to their relations and friends who were in it, or with a design to make the citizens purchase them at a high price. Without doubt, he imagined this conduct would gain him the hearts of the Parisians; but he was deceived; they enjoyed his benefits without ceasing to look upon him as the author of their miseries, and, elated with the prince of Parma's arrival, they insulted him, who only raised the siege because he was too much affected with the miseries of the besieged.

To justify an action, in itself as much blamed by the masters in the art of war, as praised for its motive by hearts truly benevolent, the king caused it

to lie idle, laid siege to Clermont,* and continued it by frequent detachments. My company he posted in the

to be reported, that his design in raising the siege of Paris was to go and meet the prince of Parma, and by a decisive action put an end to a war which had already continued too long. He made use of all the precautions necessary to secure a safe retreat from so populous a city as Paris, and commanded every one to hold themselves in readiness for a general signal; to the end that, all the suburbs being evacuated in a moment, no person might remain at the mercy of the populace. This retreat required great wisdom and address, and was happily effected on the first or second of September, 1590, after which the whole army arrived at the general rendezvous, without meeting with any accident.

The king having learnt that the prince of Parma had assembled his army in the neighbourhood of Meaux, posted himself between that city and Paris, and sent his light horse as far as Claye, where the two camps being so contiguous, several small encounters ensued. The king, upon the marshal Biron's representasion, preferred to this post that of Chelles, and went thither contrary to his own opinion; for he looked upon Claye to be a more advantageous post, and at the same time fitter to shut up the road to Paris from the enemy's general; for he had still views upon the city, and carried on a correspondence within it, which if the prince of Parma had entered, would have failed him, and which it did notwithstanding. The king then took possession of a rising-ground, which on one side presented nothing to view but a deep valley and a morass, that took away all possibility of acting in that place. The prince of Parma perceiving this, encamped on a hill opposite to ours. It was neither his design nor his interest to hazard a battle, but to give us a check; his camp answered this purpose exactly, as he was there sheltered from any attack, and out of the reach of the cannon. The king became sensible of the error, which too much complaisance for the opinion of another had drawn him into, when, after remaining two or three days in this position, he saw Lagny taken before his eyes, without having it in his power to prevent it.

This event, joined to his raising the siege of Paris, mortified him extremely, because he was sensible that it might be concluded from thence, that the enemy was superior to him in judgment, which this prince considered as a matter of great importance in war. What gave him still more uneasiness was, that none were more ready to believe, or even to spread, these disadvantageous reports, than the Catholics of his own army. What reliance could he have on the assistance of persons, by whom the disobedience of his soldiers, and his want of money, were occasioned? and he was convinced

* In Beauvoisis.

neighbourhood of Mante, to keep the country of Chartrain, and part of the isle of France, in order. I obtained leave to continue near his person, though I was not in a condition to do him any very great services; the wound on my hip not permitting me to sit my horse but with great uneasiness, and that in my elbow took away the use of one of my hands.

It happened as the king had foreseen: the prince of Parma boasted of his advantage in being master of the field; and that he might profit by it, laid siege to Corbeil. The king had provided this place, as well as all the other royalist towns, with whatever was necessary to enable them to hold out against a long siege. The enemy's general, who did not expect this, was greatly astonished at the firm resistance of Rigaut, the governor of Corbeil, whom he a long time despaired of subduing, but thinking his honour was engaged in this undertaking, he continued his efforts, and succeeded at last. It was with this single exploit, however, that the campaign ended; the duke had bought it too dear to attempt a second at the same price; and not being able to effect any thing against the king's army, any more than his towns, he thought the wisest thing he could do

that this disposition with regard to him was an incurable malady, which his good or his bad fortune equally increased. Such is the hatred that religion is the foundation of! and in the end, the king had a thousand fatal proofs of it.

He now resolved upon a very prudent measure, and indeed the only one that was left him. No longer persisting in his design of taking Paris, which so many circumstances concurred to ruin, he quitted his post at Chelles, where he ran great hazards with an army whose interests clashed with those of its leader, and suddenly abandoning all those quarters, retreated to the river Oise, and fixed at Creil; where, without ceasing to harass the prince of Parma, he suffered him slowly to consume of himself. During this time, he made no other motions than what served to hinder his army from being enervated by sloth. He laid siege," &c.

was to return to the Low Countries, which he did, to the extreme regret of the league, whom his presence had greatly elated.

The duke judged like an able general, that the king, who had (if the expression may be allowed) closed his eyes upon all the advances he had made, would open them upon his retreat; and that this would not be effected with the same ease as the rest. He was not mistaken; but he acted with so much prudence, that he prevented the last misfortune which must unavoidably have happened to any other. However, notwithstanding all his precautions, the king, by an infinite number of attacks and skirmishes, sometimes beat up his quarters. The most considerable of these little actions was at the passage of the river of Aîne, where the baron de Biron* engaged himself so far amongst the enemy's battalions, that had not the king with some gentlemen who were about him, made a most desperate charge, and brought him off, he would have lost his life there, or at least his liberty.

I was able to keep my rank with the rest during the whole of this march, which was an excellent school for a soldier to learn his trade in; it no less justified the conduct the king had till then observed, than it did him honour by the manner in which he executed it. Laying aside only the terms ignominious and shameful, which the courtiers, eager to please this prince, applied (in my opinion very unjustly) to the prince of Parma's retreat, it is certain, that the manner in which the king rendered an army useless, which had promised itself the conquest of all France, his bravery in attacking a powerful enemy who did not retreat through weakness,

* Charles de Gontaut, son to the marshal.

and his dexterity, in seizing all advantages, gave matter for admiration to persons consummate in the art of war, and equally excited the admiration of the ignorant.* The king's conduct upon this occasion, gave his partisans new courage. Several towns submitted, and some Catholics came over to his side; among others, the duke of Nevers, who brought his troops along with him, either because he began to be afraid of him, or was disgusted with the league.

It was not such allies as these that I wished the king; I found he dearly bought by his compliances the assistance of a man, who might have been indeed of some use to him; but who, in my opinion, only increased the number of his secret enemies† in the council; for thus I cannot help calling all those interested Catholics, who carried every thing there with a high hand, and thought they had a right to give laws to Henry.

During the king's stay in the neighbourhood of Mante, I took Gisors,‡ by means of a correspondence, which a gentleman in my company, named Fourges, carried on

* "Henry IV," says father Matthieu, "when he was in pursuit of the "prince of Parma, stole away from Attichy, and went, for the first time, to "see the beautiful Gabriella at Cœuvres. He contented himself with eat-"ing some bread and butter at the gate, that he might not raise any suspi-"cion in her father. Afterwards mounting his horse, he said, he was going "towards the enemy, and that the fair one should soon hear what he had "performed through his passion for her." Vol. II. p. 59.

† By all the letters that passed between the duke of Nevers and Henry III, which are at the end of the first volume of the Memoirs that bear his name, it appears, that the former served this prince effectually against the league, but without any kindness to the king of Navarre. When he joined this prince, their reciprocal letters show, that the services he did Henry IV, were considerable indeed, but that he exacted a very high price for them, and that it was with difficulty Henry bore with his caprice, his jealousy, and his bad temper.

‡ A city of Vexin.

with his father, who was in the place. I did not imagine the government of this city would have been refused me; but it happened in this instance as it had done in many others; messieurs de Nevers, d'O, and other Catholics, put in practice all those mean artifices, which procured them favours that ought only to have been the rewards of merit, and prevailed upon the king to give this post to one of their own religion.

I was too sincere to dissemble my thoughts of such injustice; I chose to explain myself upon this subject at the very time when all these gentlemen might hear what I said, and concealed nothing that lay upon my heart. The king, who was a better politician than I was, seemed not to be moved with my invectives against the Catholics, although he secretly agreed that I was injured, and only answered me coolly, "I perceive you are heated "at present; we will talk of this affair another time. I "must confess," he added, after I retired, "that he has "some reason for his complaints; his temper is natu- "rally fiery: however, he will never be guilty of any "thing base or wicked, for he is a good man, and loves "honour." In the first emotions of my anger, I left my company to the care of my lieutenant, and went to make a tour in the valley of Aillant, and to Combrailles, upon my wife's estate, taking only six gentlemen, and my domestics with me. I did not expect to be employed in any military duties in this journey; but while I was at Bontin,* the count of Tonnerre† prevailed upon me to assist him in an attempt he made upon Joigny.‡ His design was to force with a petard a postern-gate,

* Upon the confines of Champaigne, and Orleanois.

† Francis Henry, count of Clermont and Tonnere.

‡ In Champagne, upon the Yonne.

which for a long time before had not been opened, and through that to enter the town. Tonnerre, for this exploit had only two hundred arquebusiers, which he had got together in haste; they followed him about two hundred steps into the city; but here their leader falling by a shot from an arquebuse, terror seized them, and they hastily retreated towards the postern, carrying the wounded count along with them. Their danger, or rather their fear, redoubling, they had the baseness to leave him upon the pavement, about thirty steps from the gate, where he would have been cut to pieces by the citizens, if I had not flown to his assistance, with only twenty men: for notwithstanding all my endeavours, I could not prevail upon those cowardly soldiers to face about. However, I rescued Tonnerre, who returned to Gien,* of which he was governor, while I mustered up his fine troop, and resumed my way to Bontin.

The remembrance of the king's former goodness to me, and an invincible inclination, drew me back to him. I found him employed in the siege of Chartres,† the taking of which was principally owing to the valour and address of Chatillon.‡ I was prevented from being pre-

* A city of Orleanois upon the Loire.

† "The magistrate of this city made him a very long harangue; and "telling him, that he acknowledged the city was subject to the king, by "divine and human law: the king, out of patience at his prolixity, inter- "rupted him, pushing forward his horse to enter, and said, Ay, and add also, "by the *canon* law." Father Chalon's History of France, vol III. p. 227. This siege was long and bloody. See Matthieu, vol. II. p. 63. Cayet, vol. II. p. 415, and other historians.

‡ Francis de Coligny, son to the admiral of Guyenne. He died this year, in his castle of Louve, thirty years of age, leaving by Margaret d'Ailly de Péquigny, three sons. The Calvinist party sustained a great loss in him, for it is believed, that if he had lived, he would even have excelled his father. De Thou, book cii. Three sons of d'Andelot, the ad-

sent at the siege, by an adventure the most dangerous I was ever engaged in, in my whole life; nor have the intentions of the authors of it, or even their names, ever come to my knowledge.

Returning from an assault which Chatillon made upon the body of the place, by means of a bridge of a new and very ingenious construction, the king, who observed that my former ardour for his service was not diminished, called me, and commanded me to bring my company before Chartres. I was obliged to go and get my men together myself, and at the same time to provide every thing necessary for their maintenance. About three leagues from Mante, near the town of Touvery, I saw a brigade of twenty horse in the field, which I ordered Tilly to reconnoitre. Upon his information that they wore white scarfs, I advanced without fear or precaution: as for them, continuing their rout, as if they had not seen us, they struck into the wood, from whence, according to the course of the road they had taken, I could not expect to see them come out. I rode on with Tilly, La Poterie, and La-Ruë, before the rest of my troop, which consisted only of six other gentlemen, and four servants, who followed at some distance separately. These troopers, or robbers, I know not which to call them, were well acquainted with the wood, and had taken their measures so well, that they met us at the passage out of it, just where our road crossed their's. The two first took off their hats, when to the words, Qui vive? we answered, Vive le roi; but at the same time taking advantage of our confidence, they fired di-

miral's brother, died at one time, in the year 1586; their names were Laval, Sailly, and Rieux. They were sons of Francis de Coligny, and Claude de Breaux, sole heiress of the house of Laval. Book lxxxv.

rectly at our breasts. I saw three of the foremost take aim particularly at me. There was no probability that any of us would have escaped; but doubtless, precipitation, fear, and the terrors of conscience, caused the hands of these villains to tremble, so that of three shots fired at me, one only took effect, which entered my lip, and came out at the nape of my neck: it appeared to me, that La-Poterie and Tilly received the two others in their clothes. La-Ruë was the only person who fell.

The rest of my troop galloped up at the noise, and surrounded me, crying out, "Vive Rosny!" we then all charged our assailants, who retired, firing, to some houses, surrounded by hedges, whither we pursued them; when we approached the hedges, they fired upon us from within the houses with small shot, two or three of which entered my face. By this circumstance I concluded, that our adversaries were in a part of the country well known to them, and that this village was full of soldiers, who only sought, perhaps, to draw us nearer; therefore, after several times calling to these traitors to turn and accept a challenge, I thought it was the wisest way to leave them, and take some care of my wounds, especially that in my neck, which was the most considerable, and by which I lost a great deal of blood. I got to Touvery, where I had my wounds dressed in the house of monsieur d'Auteuil,* and from thence retired to Mante, where I was six weeks under the surgeon's hands. During this interval, the king's army not only seized Chartres, but Corbie likewise. Parabere had the conduct of the latter siege, in the absence

* M. de Combault d'Auteuil.

of the king, who was kept at St. Quentin* by his new passion for mademoiselle d'Estrées.†

The siege of Noyon followed that of Corbie. There is none which I could have more wished to have given a circumstantial relation of than this, if I had been a witness of it. A thousand brave actions were performed by the besieged. The duke of Maïenne, who knew this place was of great importance to the league, sent orders to the duke d'Aumale,‡ the lieutenant-gene-

* It is to this year, and while Henry IV staid at St. Quentin, that we must bring back this prince's letter to M. de Rosny, which is without date, and may be seen amongst the MSS. of the king's library, the contents of which perfectly agree with the text of our Memoirs, and is as follows: "All "the news I have from Mante are, that you have been fatigued, and are "much emaciated; if you have any desire to refresh yourself and grow fat, "it is my opinion, that you ought to come hither; mean time your brother "will send us news from thence of our siege at Chartres," &c.

From several places in these Memoirs, where the share Henry IV gave to M. de Rosny in all his resolutions is mentioned, particularly that relating to his conversion; which we shall come to presently, we may infer, that this prince had always an entire confidence in him. I have transcribed the foregoing letter to show by another testimony, that this opinion is not ill founded; and that the duke of Sully has not through vanity imposed upon his readers. The historians have not mentioned this minister till he began to appear publicly at the head of affairs. It is more than probable, that a long time before that, he had been the soul of all the actions and councils of Henry the Great. It is easy to trace this time back to his most early youth; though indeed all the actions of the duke of Sully compose a life, wherein no period of it seems to have been that of youth. This advantage must be allowed to minds born, as it were, grave and serious, over those more lively and full of fire.

† She is often mentioned in the course of this work. Her name was Gabrielle; she was daughter of John Antony d'Estrées, and Frances Babou de la Bourdaisiere. She bore successively the names of the fair Gabrielle, madame de Liancourt, the marchioness of Monceaux, and dutchess of Beaufort.

‡ Charles de Lorraine, duke d'Aumale, son of Claude, slain before Rochelle, in the year 1573. He was the third of Claude de Lorraine's sons; from whence issued all the branches of the house of Lorrain in France: that of d'Aumale was extinct soon after.

ral, who was then at Ham with some of the forces of the party, not to neglect giving it all possible assistance till he approached. The duke d'Aumale endeavoured twice to throw succours into it, but La Chantalerie and Tremblecourt, who led them, were completely routed one after the other. The viscount de Tavannes,* the major-general, thinking he might be more successful, approached with four hundred arquebusiers: they met with a party of fifty or sixty horse, belonging to us, who, after the "Qui vive?" charged them boldly, and put them to flight: the principal officers, who made resistance, were all wounded, and taken prisoners, with Tavannes, their commander. D'Aumale flattered himself, that he should in his turn, take two troops of light horse in their quarters, which he had ordered Bellanglise to reconnoitre; but he found them mounted, and going to meet the king; and having attacked them, these light horse, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, defended themselves so long, and so bravely, that the baron de Biron, messieurs de la Hargerie† and de la Boissiere, had time to come up to their assistance; after which, these two troops joining, they defeated d'Aumale's whole detachment, which consisted of five hundred horsemen, and as many horse-arquebusiers; very few reached Ham‡ without wounds, and a great number of them were made prisoners.

The duke of Maïenne arriving at Ham at the very moment that these shattered remains retreated thither, was a witness of his loss, and protested publicly, that he

* John de Saulx, viscount of Tavannes, one of the marshals of the league. See a relation of the sieges of Noyon, Pierrefont, and all these expeditions in the above-named historians.

† Lewis d'Ognies de la Hargerie, count of Chaune.

‡ Another city upon the Somme.

would efface this shame, either by raising the siege of Noyon, or by a battle. He drew together all his forces, ordered the baron de Rosne* to bring up the Spanish troops, which the prince of Ascoli commanded in Champagne; and finding himself at the head of nine hundred foot, and two hundred horse, he advanced towards Noyon. He forgot his oath, when he saw that he had to do with men, who seemed not even to heed his arrival. It was in vain, that the commander of Noyon had represented to him by a gentleman, whom the king permitted to pass through his army, that he had engaged to surrender the place in six days, if no succours were sent to him, as the duke of Maïenne, the prince of Ascoli, and the duke of Aumale, suffered Noyon to be taken before their eyes. The governor certainly deserved to have been better seconded: his name was Rieux; and from a private soldier had become governor of Pierrefond, by his skill and bravery. Upon the report of Noyon's being attacked, he found means to throw himself into it, with fifty horse, and as many arquebusiers, to animate the inhabitants of the city where all were in consternation and dismay, and with intention to hold out till the last extremity. The duke of Maïenne seeing that his army was now useless, sent it into quarters, and marched slowly towards Paris. He had long carried on a correspondence in Mante, and he now thought it time to execute his design upon that place. He privately drew out the garrisons of Paris, Dreux, and Pontoise, and suddenly presented himself within musket shot of Mante, before day. My brother† was governor of it,

* Christian de Savigny, baron of Rosne, in the duchy of Bar.

† Solomon de Bethune, called Baron de Rosny, the author's youngest

and I was then there myself; my wound not permitting me to keep the field. As soon as I was informed of the enemy's arrival, I ran upon the ramparts with my head bound up; and causing some discharges to be fired at the assailants, forced them to abandon their design.

The duke of Maïenne succeeded no better before Houdan,* which he alarmed as he passed by. My other brother, who was there with his regiment, and some companies, gave him such a reception, that he retreated with disgrace.

What happened at Mante, joined to the information my brother had received, convinced us, that the enemy had a correspondence in the city. After consulting together upon what was necessary to be done on this occasion, I fixed upon the following expedient: I had still in my pay six of those brave soldiers, who served as a forlorn hope in the battle of Ivry, and to whom, besides their pay, I gave eight livres a month. They were then in my brother's garrison, to whom I could not refuse them, and their fidelity I was absolutely assured of. As it had been concerted with us two, they pretended to be discontented with the governor of Mante, and offering themselves to the garrison of Pontoise, were received with open arms. They immediately proposed to d'Alincourt† to make him master of Mante by the connexion which, they told him, they still had in that place: to convince the governor of this, they requested four soldiers, whom, by my connivance, they conveyed into

brother, and the third of those four brothers he mentioned at the beginning of these Memoirs.

* On the borders of France and Normandy.

† Charles de Neufville, marquis d'Alincourt, son to Nicholas de Neufville de Villeroi, secretary of state: he will be mentioned afterwards.

Mante, and directed to get acquainted with such citizens, as were well disposed to engage in all sorts of factions, and by this means they soon knew all those persons in the town who favoured the league. In a little time every thing was agreed upon, and the day fixed for delivering up Mante to the enemy. These four soldiers found so little difficulty in the prosecution of their design, that d'Alincourt, believing the success of it infallible, would have all the honour of it to himself. My soldiers gave me exact information of every thing that was contriving in Pontoise, and the joy which so well concerted an enterprize occasioned there, where the general council of the league, headed by the cardinal of Bourbon* resided.

Meantime I took my measures very cautiously, that no affectation might appear in my conduct. I caused trains of gunpowder to be laid upon the ramparts which they intended to scale, without any one's perceiving it; and shut up all the houses that stood near that side; after which I introduced into the place by small divisions at different times, the best soldiers of the garrisons of Nogent, Vernon, and Meulan. This done, I thought

* This is not the old cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, son of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome, and brother to Antony, king of Navarre, whom the league had proclaimed king. He died of the stone the year before, at Fontenai, in Poitou, whither Henry IV had caused him to be removed from Chinon, aged sixty-seven years; a prince who had reason to complain, that they obliged him to ascend a throne which had no allurements for him. He could not conceal his joy for the victory that Henry IV gained at Coutras; and only accepted the crown, says Cayet, to preserve it for that prince, whom he loved. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. book ii. p. 357. The person mentioned here, is the cardinal, his nephew, named Charles after him, son to Lewis the first, prince of Condé, slain at Jarnac, and brother to the prince of Condé who died at St. John d'Angely, to the prince of Conti, and the count of Soissons. He is mentioned in another place.

myself obliged to send and inform the king, who was at Compeigne, of all that passed, which ruined our project. This prince could not resist the desire he had to receive the duke of Maïenne himself in Mante, and imagined he took sufficient precaution against injuring our scheme, by not entering Mante, till the night on which it was to be executed, and by carrying in with him only fifty horse, and the same number of foot. For me, when I saw him arrive, I was so well persuaded that all our measures were frustrated, that I could not help reproaching him with some warmth for coming thus to undo our plan, and exposing, perhaps the lives of the four soldiers, who conducted it, by means of the evidences that might appear against them. The king assuring me, that nothing of what I feared would happen, went to sup at the governor's, where, being fatigued with his long journey, he threw himself upon a bed with his clothes and large boots on.

Day came, without any appearance of the enemy: I watched for them all night upon the ramparts with one of my brothers; the other staid with the king. Just as I had retired to rest, Bellengreville, whom I had ordered to observe the enemy's motion without, came to me, and informed me, that the duke of Maïenne having received advice that some troops, led by the king in person, had entered Mante in the night, supposed his design was discovered, and had retreated, after having advanced as far as Bourgenville. I carried him to the king, to whom he made the same report, and as a proof of the truth of what he said, produced two carts, laden with rope-ladders, and such other instruments, which the leaguers, imagining they already saw the king at their heels, had left in the field, that they might not obstruct their retreat.

The affair became public and irretrievable; for the soldiers, who escaped on both sides could not be silent.

The king succeeded better at Louviers.* This town kept a priest† in its pay, who from the top of a belfry, which he never left, played the part of a spy with great exactness. If he saw but a single person in the field, he rung a certain bell, and hung out at the same side a great flag. We did not despair of being able to corrupt his fidelity, which two hundred crowns, and a promise of a benifice worth three thousand livres a year, effected. There remained only to gain some of the garrison; the sieur du Rollet took this upon himself, and succeeded. He addressed himself to a corporal and two soldiers, who easily prevailed upon the rest of the garrison to trust the guard of one of the gates to them only. Every thing being thus arranged, the king presented himself before Louviers, at twelve o'clock in the night.‡ No one rung the bell, nor was there the least motion in the garrison. Du Rollet entered, and opened the gate, through which the king passed, without the smallest resistance, into the centre of the town. Fontaine Martel made some ineffectual efforts to draw the garrison together; as for the citizens, they were employed in concealing their wives and daughters. The town, whose chief riches consisted in its magazines of linen and leather, was wholly pillaged; I had a gentleman with me, called Beaugrard, a native of Louviers, who was of great use to us in discovering where these sort of goods were concealed, and a prodigious quantity of them was amassed together. The produce of my share

* In Upper Normandy.

† This priest was called John de la Tour. ‡ June 5.

amounted to three thousand livres. The king consigned to du Rollet the government of Louviers.

The same good fortune attended the duke of Montpensier in all his enterprises in Normandy.* This success was no more than necessary to console the king for the news he received, that the duke of Guise,† whom he considered as his principal enemy, had escaped from the castle of Tours, where he had been confined ever since the assassination at Blois.

III. Henry, through the persuasions and offers of the Normans, and the hopes of assistance from the queen of England, the Dutch, and the Germans, which they had severally promised him, whenever he should undertake any important enterprise, now determined upon the siege of Rouen: he therefore quitted Mante, where

* In the Lower Normandy Falaize, Baïeux, Argentan Lizieux, &c. were in the interest of the league; Caën, Alençon, Séez, Ecouché, &c. in the king's. The most considerable action happened in April, 1589, in the field of Argentan, near Pierrefitte, Villars, and Commeaux, where the duke of Montpensier cut off the leaguers of those cantons: whom they called Gautiers, to the number of five or six thousand. They were commanded by the count of Brissac, Pierrecourt, Louchan, the baron d'Echaufour, and others. Three thousand were left dead upon the spot, and a thousand taken prisoners; the rest escaped to Argentan. Commeaux, which is at present scarce a village, was taken with great difficulty. At length the duke of Montpensier extirpated this whole party; and reduced several of the rebellious cities. He was assisted by the count of Torigny, messrs. d'Emery, de Loncaunai, de Beuvron, de Viques, de Bacqueville, l'Archant, and others. See these expeditions in the third volume of the Memoirs of the League.

† Charles of Lorrain, son of Henry, duke of Guise, who was slain at Blois, and of Catherine of Cleves; he was born in the year 1571. "The "flight of the duke of Guise will ruin the league," said Henry IV, as it is related by Le Grain. The duke's valet de chambre having found means to amuse Rouvrai and his guards, either by play, or drinking, let him down from the highest window in the castle at mid-day, with a rope, which he afterwards made use of to descend himself. The duke got into a small boat, which carried him to the other side of the river, where two horses waited for them, &c. Matthieu, vol. II. p. 81. Cayet, vol. II. book iii. p. 465, &c.

for some time past he had fixed his abode, and made it a little capital for the residence of his court and council, and caused his troops to file off towards Rouen; and while preparations were making for this important siege, he took a private journey to Compeigne, of which love was the true cause, though he gave out that it was for the purpose of sending the viscount Turenne to Germany for a supply of horse; this the viscount undertook through gratitude for the king's having effected his marriage with mademoiselle de Sedan,* daughter, and sole heiress of the deceased duke of Bouillon, and honoured his nuptials with his presence, which were celebrated this year. I remained at Mante, where I first saw madame de Chateaupers, of whom I became so enamoured that in a few days I resolved upon marrying her. During my stay here, I had a humorous adventure, which I shall relate.

The king had expressly forbidden all commerce, and exportation of merchandise, and every kind of provision into Paris or Rouen, as being cities in open rebellion: but in this he was very ill obeyed, the governors of the towns, especially on the banks of the Seine,

* Charlotte de la Mark, daughter of Robert de la Mark, sovereign prince of Sedan, and of Frances of Bourbon-Montpensier; by the death of her brother, William Robert de la Mark, duke of Bouillon, which happened at Geneva, in the year 1588, she became hieress of this principality. The duke, in his last will, forbade his sister to marry a Roman Catholic. This circumstance, the king's friendship for the viscount Turenne, his desire of taking the lady from the dukes of Lorrain, Montpensier, and Nevers, each of whom demanded her for his son; policy, which advised him to give an ambitious neighbour to the duke of Lorrain, and perhaps the belief that this marriage would induce the viscount to lay aside his design of making himself head of the Calvinists in France: these were the motives which determined Henry IV to marry the heiress of Sedan to the viscount Turenne.

gained by the immense sums which they procured them, almost publicly granted the necessary passports for merchants, and masters of boats. De Fourges, whom I have formerly mentioned, came one day and informed me that a large boat laden with fish, whose cargo was reputed worth fifty thousand crowns, had gone up the river to Paris, where, after a few days stay, a less one would bring back the produce in silver to Rouen, which he was well assured of, because his father had charge of the boat. I caused it to be so well watched, that in its return it fell into my hands, and I saw with astonishment that the passport was signed by Berengueville, and my brother, the one governor of Meulan, and the other of Mante; but they did not care to mention this to me, nor did I take any notice of it to them, but caused the boat and its master to be brought to Mante. I opened two large packets, where I expected to find the fifty thousand crowns in specie; but seeing only some pieces of gold and silver thread, and a piece of Spanish silk, I threatened to put the master of the boat in prison if he did not tell me the truth. The elder Fourges, alarmed at this threat, presented me with letters of exchange for six and thirty thousand crowns, which he would have persuaded me was the whole produce of the sale; but he using much violent action as he spoke, the weight of the gold he had about him broke his pockets, and so great a quantity fell from them, that the floor was in an instant covered with crowns of the sun.* He probably intended to apply this sum to his own use, or thought it could be in no place so secure as about himself. It is

* A gold coin current at that time; it was first struck in the reign of Lewis XI, and so called, because there was the figure of a sun above the crown. The value of these crowns at this time is sixty-four sols.

impossible to express the confusion he was in at this accident. After diverting myself some time in obliging him to take several turns about the rooms, I ordered him to strip, and found seven thousand crowns in gold sewed up in his clothes. I was then in some necessity for money, and waiting for the sale of my corn, wood, and hay, at Rosny: the king made me a present of the whole of this sum, and was extremely amused with the recital of poor Fourge's adventure; as for Borengueville, and my brother, they were very angry with me. But to return to the preparations for the siege of Rouen. The people of Caen, and other towns of Normandy in the king's interest supplied money, provisions, and ammunition: the queen of England sent over four thousand men under the command of a general named Roger Williams,* and during the siege, her favourite, the earl of Essex, with a body of infantry, and a large train of English nobility.† The United Provinces, besides the two regiments in the service of the king, sent a fleet of fifty sail well equipped, on board of which were two thousand five hundred soldiers, under the command of count Philip of Nassau, to the coast of Normandy. The duke of Bouillon (for the viscount Turenne took this title after his marriage) succeeded so well in his nego-

* Sully is wrong here; Sir Roger Williams had only about six hundred men under his command, with which he landed at Dieppe; the whole of the forces, indeed, sent over by Elizabeth at this time amounted to about three thousand; but the greater part of them landed in Brittany under Sir John Norris. EDIT.

† The earl of Essex did not land with his forces during the siege, but some time previous to its commencement, and while Henry was at Noyon. The earl had four thousand men under his command, besides a great number of volunteers. See many interesting particulars respecting his expedition in Sir Robert's Carey's Memoirs, p. 51. EDIT.

ciation in Germany, that he brought back five or six thousand horse, and some companies of foot, with the prince of Anhalt at their head. These foreign auxiliaries, and six thousand Swiss, which the king had in his pay, added to different reinforcements that came from several places; particularly Normandy, and to those troops, whether Protestants or Catholics, which were at his own disposal, composed, in all, an army of forty thousand men. The marquis of Villars,* well known for his courage and capacity, shut himself up in Rouen, with the son of the duke of Maïenne, resolved to bury themselves under its ruins: indeed, from the day that we sat down before this city, till the prince of Parma's arrival, which obliged us to raise the siege, there passed almost six months; and what was worse, six winter months; for it was invested the first of October, and abandoned the twentieth of March following, after attempts on the part of the besiegers, and a resistance on that of the besieged, some circumstances of which I shall relate.

The troops of the besiegers were placed in different quarters; the king's were at Darnetal, where I took a private lodging for myself, as I foresaw that the siege would not be the work of a few days: my company was stationed at Fresne l'Esplen, whither I seldom went, as I was generally with the king or the marshal de Biron, being desirous of witnessing whatever was done in the trenches, the erection of the batteries, and the different attacks, at all which I endeavoured to be present. At first there appeared such an emulation amongst the of-

* André de Brancas Villars, of the ancient family of Brancacio, originally Neapolitan. It must not be confounded with that of the marquis of Villars, who is descended from Honoré, bastard of Savoy.

ficers to be employed, that, to avoid all disputes, the king regulated the time and duration of each of their services; and declared that every fourth day he would himself work in the trenches with the gentlemen who were about his person, who were to the number of two or three hundred, and of which he named me one.

The baron de Biron, marshal de camp, was posted upon the high ground near Fort St. Catherine, against which it was determined (according to the advice, or rather will, of his father, who could not brook contradiction,) to make the most vigorous attack:* this design I condemned, for I was always of opinion, that the city itself should be attacked at once, as it was very weak in many places, and, consequently, might be easily carried,† and that we should not put off our time by di-

* Perhaps they also depended upon blowing up the fort of St. Catherine with the mine: but the design was discovered by the besieged. Memoirs of the League, vol. V. Those writers who have defended the marshal Biron's advice against that given by the duke of Sully, with regard to the place at which they should begin the attack, say, that it was very difficult, and, at the same time very dangerous, for the army of Henry IV to leave behind them the fort of St. Catherine, the hill especially being so near the city. See, upon the operations of this siege, F. Matthieu, vol. II. p. 96, and following. Cayet, Chron. Novenn. vol. II. book iv. (who is for the duke of Sully's opinion against that of the marshal Biron,) and other historians.

† The duke of Sully and the earl of Essex seem to have been of the same opinion, with respect to the conduct of this siege: "We lay long there," says sir Robert Carey, "and to little purpose; for though the town walls "were weak, and of no force to endure a battery, which my lord [Essex] "would fain have been at, and offered the king that he and his troops should "be the first that should enter, if he would make a breach (which four cannons would soon have done) it would not be hearkened unto: *old* Byron "thinking it better by continuing the siege, for want of victuals to make "them come to composition, than to hazard the wealth of the town to the "spoil of the soldiers, if it should be won by assault." Again: "All our "attempts were against the fort [St. Catherine,] my lord [Essex] still urging the king to batter some part of the town, but it would never be yielded." Carey's Memoirs, p. 46, 50, where the reader will find many other particulars respecting this siege. EDIT.

recting our operations against a given point of so small extent that M. de Villars (who with wonderful courage and diligence showed himself every where) could defend it with double the number of men we could bring to oppose him: in fact, instead of our advancing towards the fort, the besieged carried out new works towards us; this circumstance gave rise to a report that the old marshal Biron, through envy and discontent, did every thing in his power to prevent the reduction of the place, because the king had refused him the government of the city, which he had already promised to du Hallot,* at the request of the duke de Montpensier.

The king wished to give me charge of one of the batteries; but the marshal, M. de la Guiche, de Bort, la Fayolles,† and others, would not consent to it, although I offered to serve under them, so great was my desire to learn the management of artillery; however, it was probably a fortunate circumstance that they did refuse me, as the battery to which the king destined me, was soon after taken by the besieged. The reason why the marshal objected to my appointment was my having told him, one day, when at dinner with him, that if he would but reduce the town first, he would soon be master of the castle.

The siege being formed, the first sorties of the besieged were against the quarters of the German auxiliaries, who were posted towards the river: as they found themselves hard pressed they very willingly resigned their lodgements to the Dutch, who solicited them, being more accustomed to sieges than the former,

* Francis de Montmorency Du Hallot, lieutenant-general for the king in Normandy. He was wounded at the siege of Rouen, and afterwards slain by the marquis d'Alegre.

† Philibert de La-Guiche—John du Durfort de Boner—Bertrand de Melet de Fayolles.

and they soon intrenched themselves in such a way as to prevent, in a great degree, the enemy from sallying from the town on that side. It was not long before the king perceived that he had engaged in a very difficult attempt; but nothing, he imagined, was impossible to continued labour. Villars was not contented with defending himself within; he sallied out of the castle, and caused a deep trench to be cut upon the declivity of the hill, over against the fort, with which the end of it communicated, and placed there in the night a guard of six or seven hundred men. As this new work was extended a considerable distance from the town, and not only incommoded the besiegers in their attacks upon the castle, but also exposed them to be fallen upon in the rear, while, at the same time, they had the garrison from within in front, the king resolved to seize it, and render it useless to the enemy. For this purpose he made choice of the same night when it was his turn to watch at the trench with his three hundred gentlemen, whom he commanded to be completely armed, and to have, besides their usual arms, halberts in their hands, and pistols at their girdles, and to this troop he added four hundred musketiers. It was at midnight, and amidst the extreme cold of December, that we attacked this trench in different places. The action, which was very obstinate, continued half an hour with equal animosity on both sides; we used our utmost endeavours to gain the brink, and the besieged repulsed us several times. I was twice thrown to the ground, my halbert broke, and my armour loosened or broke in pieces; but Maignan, whom I had obtained permission to keep near me, raised me, put my armour again in order, and gave me his halbert. The trench was at last carried by main force, and we cleared it of more than fifty dead or dying

enemies, whom we threw from the top of the hill. This trench was open to the cannon of the fort, but the king had the precaution to order some gabions, hogsheads, and pieces of wood to be brought there, which covered the English, to whom he committed the guard of it.

Villars did not expect to have seen his outworks carried in so short a time; when he was told it, and that it was the king himself who had conducted the enterprize, "By heavens," said he, "this prince deserves a "thousand crowns for his valour. I am sorry that, by "a better religion, he does not inspire us with as strong "an inclination to gain him new ones as to detain from "him his own; but it shall never be said, that I have failed "to attempt in my own persons what a great king has "performed in his." In effect, he put himself at the head of four hundred men armed as he had been told the king's were, and taking also eight hundred musketiers selected out of his whole number, he attacked the English with such fury and obstinacy, that after a contest of two hours, during which it is said the English performed wonders, the latter were driven out, with the loss of fifty men killed or taken. The king, piqued with the vanity of Villars, determined to attempt the recovery of this post the next time he should mount guard. The English general hearing this, and being desirous of doing away the reproaches which the enemies of the reformed religion cast upon his troops for having lost the post which was committed to their charge, entreated the king to take a hundred of the English nobility, and instead of French infantry, such of the English as he should select, assuring his majesty, that they would either regain their lodgements, or perish in the attempt: to this the king consented, and

when his turn came, he repaired according to custom to the trenches, with the whole of the force destined for the attack: at the hour appointed, the English nobility, who had insisted upon being foremost, mounted, being ably seconded by the king's party, who were again most valiantly supported by the English infantry: the enemy astonished at so impetuous an assult, retreated towards the fort after a very slight resistance, for about half an hour: as soon as the trenches were carried the English fixed themselves so firmly in them, and kept so well upon their guard, that the enemy could never after dislodge them, nor even prevent them from sometimes advancing almost to the counterscarps of their ravelins.

The day following the above affair, the king having learned that we blamed him for exposing his person too much, that M. de Villars and I were very intimate, and that the former had a steward, who was once in my service, and who was still much attached to me, he took me aside into the embrasure of one of the windows of his apartment, and spoke to me in the following words: "Well! what is your opinion of the two "late encounters, in which we have been so success-"ful? are they not worthy of being remembered?" In reply, I said, that considering the part his majesty had taken in them, and the manner in which he had exposed his person to every danger, I did not think they were surpassed by any thing either in ancient or modern story; that if there was any thing to blame it was our allowing him to be present in such hazardous enterprises, because if he should happen to lose his life, no person would be left capable of saving France: "I "cannot do otherwise, my friend," he replied, "for

"since it is for my glory and my crown that I fight, my "life and every thing else ought to be of no considera- "tion with me; this is my fixed resolution, as you will "see whenever occasion shall offer during this impor- "tant siege, which I am much afraid we shall, in the "end, be compelled to relinquish as well as that of "Paris; for I learn that the prince of Parma is about "to march for the express purpose of succouring the "place, though he will not approach it till he hear it is "reduced to the last extremity; and we have to do with "a man who is wonderfully resolute and determined, "I mean M. de Villars, whom it will not be easy to "terrify, and who will never think of capitulating "while he has the least hope of relief: the reason why "I tell you this," continued the king, "is because I am "informed there is a great intimacy between you and "him, and that he has a steward named La Fond, "who was formerly in your service, and who governs "Villars in all things: now, if by La Fond's means "you could bring over Villars to my party, there is no "favour which I would not grant them both; for by "this plan I should quietly make myself master of the "whole of Normandy." This was a subject to which my attention had been already directed, and I had even endeavoured through La Fond to procure an interview with Villars; but he would never listen to it, saying, he should thereby excite suspicion amongst his own troops, and dishearten those who were advancing to his assistance; that he was not yet in such a condition as to need a mediator, and, if that should ever happen, he would have no other but me: this was all the answer I could obtain. I now related this circumstance to the king, and added, that he must determine

whether it would be better to meet the prince of Parma as soon as he should approach Neufchatel, and give him battle, or make him repass the Somme with loss and shame; or instead of wasting his time in attacking Fort St. Catherine, to attack the city at once; "for "your majesty has an army," I added, "capable of "doing either, nor do I think you can ever collect "such another; besides, there are many reasons for "suspecting, that those who are so obstinate in advis- "ing the attack of this fort, are little desirous of the "reduction of the city; or that you should succeed in "your designs, while you continue of the reformed re- "ligion; nay, there are some who make no secret of "this, and who have even had the boldness to tell me "so." "I believe all you tell me," said the king, "and "what is worse, I see that the greater part of the "most zealous Catholics are tired of this war, and "will not, in the end scruple to desert me, and either "form a party of themselves, or join the leaguers, "with whom they do not hesitate to say they would "agree better than with the Huguenots; this will be "the ruin of the state, and of the house of Bourbon, "because if I am once rejected, they will never choose "another out of it, whatever my relations may think; "for all these reasons, therefore, I endure a thousand "things which give me much trouble, and I thus daily "endanger my life, to maintain my reputation, resign- "ing myself and my affairs to God, since it is much "better that I should die with arms in my hands, than "live to see my kingdom ruined, and myself forced to "seek assistance in a foreign country. My determina- "tion is, to march against the enemy, as soon as I "shall hear they have joined the French rebels, but

"not with the whole of my army, as that would be "raising the siege too soon, and we have to do with "an old and experienced general, who would not fail, "were he to accomplish his object, while at such a "distance, to make a boast of it, and then return "without hazarding an engagement; but I will shew "him that there are as good generals in the world as "he is. As the city of Rouen is very well situated "for my purpose, I conceive it will be sufficient to "take six thousand horse, and one thousand horse-ar- "quebusiers (which are of no use in the siege, but "rather an incumbrance), and advance towards the "frontiers, and endeavour to bring some of their "troops to action (which would be no difficult task if "the duke of Maïenne, or Parma think fit to oppose "me with their cavalry) or prevent them from cros- "sing the Somme: in short, I will endeavour to pene- "trate their designs, and reconnoitre their forces." Here the king concluded with saying he would detain me no longer, as the Catholics became jealous whenever he spoke in secret to a Huguenot, and desired me to repair to the quarters of my company, and to select about fifteen or twenty of those best armed and mounted, and to bring them with me, as he wished I should accompany him in his march. By this time messieurs Nevers, de Longueville, de la Guiche, d'O, and Chateau-vieux were whispering with each other in a corner of the room; the king, therefore, with a view to remove their suspicions, told them that we had been conversing about the reply which M. de Villars had made to my overtures, and on what was to be done farther in that business. I quitted the room immediately, and repaired to my company's quarter's,

where I remained two days, in the course of which I secretly ordered about fifteen or twenty of the best of my men to hold themselves in readiness to march at the first notice.

I returned in the course of two days from Fresne l'Esplen; and, on my arrival at Darnetal, I learnt that Villars had made a sally at the head of a hundred horse, with whom he overthrew the guard; and would have been the cause of much greater confusion, if the king, armed only with a cuirass, had not hastened thither, followed by the baron de Biron, an English officer(whose name I have forgot), Grillon,* and some others, who were about him: these three gentlemen especially gained immortal glory there. Grillon's arm was broke by a shot from an arquebuse. As for the king, having precipitated himself into a danger somewhat like that which is related of Alexander the Great in the city of the Oxydracæ, he extricated himself out of it with equal presence of mind and equal intrepidity; excepting indeed, that Alexander's exploit has all the appearance of a fable, while Henry's had two armies to be witnesses of it.

The prince of Parma, with his whole army, possessed the banks of the Somme, and, satisfied with recovering this river, made no other movement; for the governor of Rouen had sent to inform him, that as he intended to strike some important blow, he might let it be a good while before he came to his assistance; and he likewise waited for the arrival of Sfondrato, who was to bring him the troops of his uncle pope Gregory XIV, † and those of the duke of Maïenne, who however came

* Louis Berton de Crillon, or Grillon.

† Sixtus V died in the month of August, 1590. Henry IV, when he

not immediately. He had been obliged to go with his best troops to Paris, to punish the insolence of the Council of Sixteen, who, abusing the power he had trusted them with, had dared to hang the president Brisson, and some other counsellors * as venerable for their virtue as their age; and who might possibly have carried their outrages farther, if the duke of Maïenne, fearing perhaps some sudden caprice of these rebels † against himself, had not doomed them to the like punishment, but as in executing this act of justice he had certain measures to keep, he did not join the prince of Parma so soon as had been expected.

The king, when he was informed of this disposition, thought it necessary to hasten his march. He left to the marshal Biron the care of carrying on the siege, and took with him about seven or eight thousand horse; consisting of from three to four thousand French troop-

was informed of his death, said, "here is a trick of Spanish policy; I have lost a pope who was entirely devoted to me."

* Barnaby Brisson, Claude Larcher, and John Tardif, lord du Ru, counsellors of the parliament. "A catastrophe very unworthy of so "learned and excellent a man," says Mezeray, speaking of the president Brisson, "but usual with those who think to keep in with two parties;" for the parliament being transferred by the king to Tours, Brisson was the only one of the six presidents who remained at Paris. The league obliged him to perform the duties of first president, and it was he that helped to degrade king Henry III. According to the duke of Nevers' observation, his death was looked upon to be a just punishment of his ingratitude, Henry III having freely bestowed upon him the post of president. However, he was one of the greatest men of the robe. The duke of Maienne revenged his death, by causing Louchard, Ameline, Aimonet, and Anroux, four of the council of sixteen, to be hanged in a parlour of the Louvre. See the historians.

† One of the sixteen, named Normand, said one day in the duke of Maienne's chamber, "Those who made him, are able to unmake him." Hamilton the curate of St. Côme, a furious leaguer, came himself, attended by priests, instead of soldiers, to seize the counsellor Tardif in his house

ers, as many German horse, and a thousand horse-arquebusiers, at the head of which he left Darnetal, and took the road to the Somme. He passed the first day by Boissiere and Neufchâtel; the second by Blangy, Londiniere, Longueville, Senerpont, and Gamache; and the third advanced to Folleville, with one detachment only, leaving the body of his cavalry behind him, under the conduct of the duke of Nevers.

We met a considerable party, led by messieurs de Rosne,* de Balagny, de Vitry, the baron de la Châtre, St. Pol, La Mothe, and others, who had doubtless advanced with the same design as we, to discover the situation and forces of the enemy. The king commanded the baron de Biron, messieurs de Lavardin, de Givry,† de St. Geran, de Marivaut, de Chanlivaut, La-Curée, d'Arambure,‡ and some others, to attack them, but they were repulsed, and handled very roughly, and part fell, among which was Lavardin. Henry advanced with three hundred horse to disengage them; and, believing this en-

* Christian or Chrêtan de Savigny, baron of Rosne.—John de Montluc de Balagny.—Lewis de l'Hopital, lord de Vitry.—Claude de La-Châtre.—Antony de St. Pol.—Valentine de Pardieu, lord de la Mothe, governor of Valenciennes. This last was a Frenchman, of the country of Beauvoisis; but he had all his life served in the Spanish army, and was slain in the year 1595, at the siege of Dourlans, at the head of the Spanish artillery, very much regretted by the Spaniards. The king of Spain had just created him count of Ekelbeke. See his death and panegyric in De Thou, book cxii.

† Anne d'Anglure, baron of Givry. This officer was equally celebrated for his abilities in war, and his taste for polite literature.—Claude de l'Isle Marivaut.—Renée-Viau, lord of Chanlivaut;——Filhet de La-Curée: he was one of those persons in whom the king confided, and was called by him nothing but Curée. He performed wonders at the battle of Ivry, and on many other occasions. The vol. of manuscripts marked 8929, of the royal library, is filled with relations of his intrepidity: we shall, perhaps, have occasion to mention him hereafter. He was killed in an encounter at the seige of Montauban.

‡ John lord d'Arambure.

counter might be followed by a more general action, at least between the cavalry of the two armies, which was what he ardently wished for, he sent orders to Nevers to hasten and join him: but the prince of Parma had a contrary design, and restrained his squadrons, who had retreated of themselves when they perceived ours advancing; and the king, seeing no appearance of effecting any thing in the midst of so many battalions, contented himself with observing this army closely, and checking its motions, as he went to his quarters at Breteuil,* where his cavalry, to prevent a surprize, were obliged to keep themselves extremely close, and part of them even lay without all night, though the ground was covered with snow.

The ardour with which the king went to meet an enemy so greatly superior to him in numbers, awakened all our fears for the dangers to which he exposed his person, and obliged us to represent the consequences to him in very strong terms. But this prince, who had no conception of that caution we proposed to him, when glory was in question, did not alter his conduct: but satisfied himself with naming thirty of us to continue near his person, and not to leave him upon any occasion whatever: an employment highly honourable indeed, but the danger of which, in some degree, made it less desirable. With this precaution, which was no more than necessary, he only resigned himself still more to his eager thirst of glory.

Being informed that the duke of Guise, who commanded the prince of Parma's vanguard, had put himself at the head of his troop to facilitate the lodgment

* This town, and some of those places abovementioned, are in Picardy: the others are in the country of Caux.

of his infantry in a large town called Bures,* he resolved to cut off this troop, which he executed with the utmost bravery, at the head of twelve hundred horse and a thousand horse-arquebusiers. A great number of the enemy were left dead upon the spot, and the rest betook themselves to flight; the duke of Guise's green standard was taken, and all the baggage plundered. Henry, who was not willing that any of these troopers should escape, especially their colonel, sent immediate orders to the duke of Nevers† to advance to Bully, that he might possess himself of the road through which he supposed the duke of Guise and the fugitives would retreat to the rest of the army, and to take them prisoners. I was ordered to support the duke of Nevers with sixty horse, which I obeyed with reluctance, not doubting but in such hands the affair would have an end very unworthy the beginning.

The duke of Nevers, who was the slowest of all men, began by sending to make choice of the most favourable roads, and having fixed upon that which lay through Bully, he set out at a slow pace in his coach, with his hands in a muff, with which he covered his nose and mouth. This once he had no occasion to boast of his extreme caution: it was so long before he arrived that he gave time to the prince of Parma, who was more diligent than he, to dispatch a regiment of five or six hundred men to Bully, who made such haste that they reached the town in the beginning of the night. As for the duke of Nevers, the sun was risen the next day when he had just ascended the mountain, at the bottom

* In Beauvoisis.

† Lewis de Gonzague de Mantua, duke of Nevers by his marriage with Henrietta of Cleves, dutchess of Nevers.

of which Bully is situated, preceded by his couriers, whom he had that day doubled through an excess of caution against a flying enemy: the first, to the number of fifty, marched two or three miles before him; and the second, which amounted to an hundred, went some paces before his coach. But unfortunately, with all his foresight, he forgot to make sure of this passage, and had not sent a single soldier to keep guard there. He began to descend the mountain with great tranquillity, and the more so, as he was ignorant of the troops that were in Bully. His first couriers reached the town without creating the least alarm, till they had got within it, when they saw near the gate a body of soldiers having the appearance of enemies, well armed, and sitting round a large fire; the one party was not less surprised than the other; but those at the fire no sooner perceived the white scarfs of the others than they flew to arms, and shut the gates; our men finding they could not retreat the way they entered, gallopped through the town with their pistols in their hands, and escaped out at a gate on the opposite side, before the troops of the enemy had time to stop them. Whilst this was going forward, the duke of Nevers was descending the mountain, not doubting but his advanced guard had proceeded onward without meeting with any opposition, and his coach was sunk into the deepest part of a declivity, equally steep, rugged, and winding. It was in this place that the duke heard the noise of some fusileers who were firing after his first couriers, and the second coming to make their report, full of consternation, he was frozen with terror, and resolving now to lose no time, threw away his muff and his furs, not without several times exclaiming, "The devil!" and quarreling

with his servants for not coming soon enough to help him out. All their endeavours could not turn the coach, which they were forced to drag back to the top of the mountain, where the duke again made use of it, to return with more speed to the place where he had lain the preceding night. It was thus that we seconded the king upon this occasion: a truly ridiculous exploit, where the danger was far less than the fear, since not a single man was lost.

The king finding that the prince of Parma, to avoid being forced to an action without his infantry, durst not, for the future, suffer his van-guard to be separated from the army; and perceiving that the king almost never lost sight of him, redoubled his vigilance and caution, which was, without doubt, the cause that he did not take all the advantage he might have done of the encounter at Aumale, an action uncommonly bold on the king's side, and well deserving of a particular relation here.

Some days after the defeat of the duke of Guise, the king following the prince of Parma at a great distance, had advanced with six thousand horse as far as Aumale. Givry, whom he had sent at the head of some troopers to get intelligence, returned and informed him, that the enemy's army was advancing directly towards him, in the plain, in good order, apparently with a design to force him back, and to cut him off in his retreat. The king called a council, and finding, as he said, that he had too many and too few soldiers, he resolved to send all his cavalry back to Ophy, Blangy, and Neufchâtel, and to keep with him only four hundred troopers, and five hundred horse-arquebusiers, and with this body of men to advance into the plain, to discover exactly the

condition and number of the enemy; and, hovering about them, to take or cut off some squadrons.

He ascended the hill of Aumale* with his nine hundred horse, and marched two leagues without perceiving any thing, till the sky, which had been extremely cloudy and dark, becoming very clear, he a second time saw Girvy return, who came to satisfy him in every particular relating to this army, which was so near that they heard distinctly the sound of the trumpets and drums. The king, however, willing to observe it himself, reconnoitred it very closely, and found that it consisted of seventeen or eighteen thousand infantry, with seven or eight thousand cavalry, all marching very close, the cavalry in the midst of the battalions, and the whole flanked with chariots and baggage, that rendered all approach impossible. From this situation of the enemy, he found he had still too many men; and retaining only an hundred troopers, ordered the eight hundred others to repass the dyke and town of Aumale, and three hundred horse of his squadron to stop upon the declivity of the hill, to be ready to assist him, if there should be occasion. Five hundred arquebusiers he gave to the conduct of Lavardin, with orders to post them in the ditches and hedges that were at the entrance of the town, from whence they might harass the enemy, if they approached too near. As for himself, he not only waited for the enemy with his hundred horse, but even marched to meet them.

We now gazed upon each other with the utmost astonishment at the rashness of a design, which seemed to expose the king to inevitable death. No one durst venture to expostulate with him, yet knew not how to

* In Normandy, upon the borders of Picardy.

be silent. At length I was chosen, and deputed by the rest to represent to the king, in the name of us all, the danger to which he exposed himself, and to intreat him to change his resolution. This commission I performed with all imaginable caution. "It is fear," replied the king, "that occasions this request: from you, of "all others, I never expected to hear such a proposition." I conjured him not to think so unjustly of any of us; and told him, that all we required was that he would give us what orders he pleased, provided he would himself retire. Henry confessed to me afterwards, that he was sensibly affected with these words; and repenting of what he had said to me, replied, that no expressions of our fidelity could equal the idea he conceived of it. "But," added he, coolly, and with an air that convinced me how vain it would be to speak to him any more upon this subject, "be you also assured, that I am not so "rash as you imagine; that I am as careful of myself "as any other, and that I will retreat so seasonably that "no misfortnne shall happen."

The prince of Parma looked upon this bold attempt as a snare that was laid for him, to draw his cavalry into an open field where he should meet with the king's, which he supposed to be concealed, and much superior to his; he even suspected a long time, that the king's whole army was not far off; and, having no design to engage him, he did not quit his post, which was in the centre of the army, where he was seated in an uncovered chariot, without arms or boots, and employed in giving orders to restrain the ardour of the soldiers, who suffered with impatience a hundred men to insult thirty thousand. However, when he was assured, by the report of his light horse and his carabineers, that at

present he had but a hundred horse in front, and that if there were any cavalry it must be on the other side of the valley, he thought he should risk nothing by attacking us; which he did with such fury, and on so many points, that we were broke through, and driven back as far as the valley. Here it was that our arquebusiers had posted themselves; and on our arrival the king cried to them to charge, after having first warned us not to stir, in order that the enemy might suspect an ambuscade in this place, and stop. In effect, they did stop short; but finding that this cry was followed only with fifty or sixty shots which we fired upon them, they came on again more furiously.

Our arquebusiers, seized with fear, or perhaps willing to choose a more advantageous ground, had retired much lower than the place that had been assigned them, and they were the principal cause of the misfortune that happened. The enemy's squadrons, encouraged by the little resistance they found, forced our ranks, and we could not hinder them from mixing amongst us. We saw ourselves reduced to the necessity of fighting with this vast multitude with pistols and swords, in a danger that may be easily imagined; and indeed, in my opinion, there could not be a greater; for our hundred troopers were already reduced to forty. Henry, seeing that none came to his assistance in this extrmity, resolved to make his retreat, which, on this occasion, was almost as dangerous as a defence, because we had a bridge to pass, and that bridge at a great distance. This prince, with a composure truly admirable, placed himself in the rear of his troop, and made it file off towards the bridge of Aumale, which, by the order he caused to be observed, it passed over without confusion.

He was the last to pass, and held firm against the enemy till every one of us was on the other side: that moment he was shot in the reins, which fortunately was the only wound he received, and which did not hinder him from continuing to fight on the other side of the bridge, while he was endeavouring to gain the hill, where the four hundred horse he had sent thither made so good an appearance, that the prince of Parma, being more than ever persuaded that the king only sought to draw him to a battle, forbid his troops to advance, and ordered them all to return to Aumale.

The king reached Neufchâtel, where his wound obliged him to go to bed. The surgeons removed our fears and consternation by assuring us that it was a very inconsiderable one. He obliged us to come near his bed, and conversed with us familiarly on the dangers of that day: upon which I observed, as something very extraordinary, that amongst all of us, who were in the room, there were not two who agreed* in the recital of the most particular circumstances of the action.† However, there are perhaps few kings whose lives

* There is scarce any skirmish or battle of which as much may not be said. Although there are a great number of writers, and even contemporaries, who have treated of the military exploits contained in these Memoirs, I cannot meet with two who agree exactly in these descriptions. D'Aubigné, in that of the encounter at Aumale does not even mention the king's wound, which was the only one he ever received in his life. Matthieu, ibid. p. 100, and our best historians differ but little from our Memoirs.

† Henry having sent to the prince of Parma to ask his opinion of this retreat, he replied, that "indeed it was a very fine one: but that, for his part, he never engaged in any place from whence he was obliged to retire." Peref. ibid. part ii. It was on this occasion that Du-Plessis-Mornay wrote this excellent letter to the king: "Sire, you have been long enough an Alexander: it is time you should now be an Augustus; it is our glory and duty to die for you, and yours, I dare tell you, sire, to live for France," &c. Notes upon the Henriade.

will afford so splendid an instance of valour and good conduct. But Henry was always too prodigal of his own blood, and too careful of that of his soldiers.

The prince of Parma's extreme prudence failed him upon this occasion: it hindered him from cutting off our whole squadron, and finishing the war that day by the death or capture of the king; for the one or other was inevitable. But he was determined to undertake nothing till he was joined by the duke of Maïenne, not being willing to bear alone all the inconveniences of a war, of which he was not to have the sole advantage.

The prince could not comprehend the cause of this delay in the chief of the league: the suspicions he entertained of it made him suddenly change the march of his army, and take the road back again to the Somme, an action very pardonable in a foreigner, who saw himself in the midst of a strange country, where he alone was to sustain the war. Henry, who, without considering what was glorious for himself in this last battle, called it only the *error of Aumale*, and being solicitous to repair this heroic error, could not resolve to suffer the Spanish general quietly to retreat; putting off therefore the cure of his wound to another time, he again mounted his horse, and harrassed the prince continually, only regretting that he could not do more. But he had a most wary general to deal with, who, notwithstanding all his endeavours, presented him always with an infantry in front, which he could not break through; and observed so prudent a conduct, that it was not possible, even at the passage of the river, to have an encounter with him. The king at length, quitting him at Pontdormy, returned to Neufchâtel, to have his wound cured, at the house of monsieur de Claire; where I was re

ceived as a friend and relation. I kept only a valet de chambre, a page, and a footman with me, and sent all the rest of my equipage to my quarters before Rouen.

The success of the seige became more uncertain every day: at last the king was informed, by a courier, that Villars, at the head of two hundred musketiers, and three or four hundred soldiers, had in the night made a furious sally on the side of Darnetal; that he had penetrated even into the king's quarters, where he had cut all the German foot to pieces, and carried off six pieces of cannon, and all the powder; that afterwards, pursuing his advantage he had fallen upon the trench, which he attacked from behind; had killed there three or four hundred men, and put the rest to flight: in a word, that he did not retire till he had destroyed almost all the works of the besiegers.

This news gave great displeasure to the king, because he knew these disasters had happened through the negligence of the marshal Biron, though he would not accuse him for fear of giving him offence,* and of creating any misunderstanding with the most ill-disposed of the Catholics (who on the least disaster attributed every thing to the king's religion,) lest they should abandon him at this important conjuncture: therefore not to displease the ill-natured, nor to discourage the

* There cannot be a stronger proof of the respect and deference which Henry IV thought himself obliged to show the marshal Biron, than what this prince said one day to Châtillon, on a certain occasion, when that young man offered some very reasonable advice, but contrary to that given by the marshal: "The goslings," said he, "would lead the geese to pasture. "When your beard is white, perhaps you will have acquired some know-"ledge, but at present I do not approve of your speaking so freely: that "belongs only to my father here," pointing to Biron, who had threatened to retire. "We must," pursued he, embracing him, "go all to his school." Matthieu, vol. II. p. 16.

good, he affected to make light of the matter, and said aloud, that it was nothing, and that he would in a few days repair all these little reverses (inseparable from warfare) by gaining a second, or rather a third, battle. But this language could not regain the affections of the most ill-tempered of the Catholics, nor prevent their betraying by their looks and gestures, and their predictions of bad fortune as long as ever the king continued a Huguenot, how unwillingly they endured the power of a sovereign of that religion, and their hatred against the professors of it: indeed, they were so far impelled by this hatred, as to recommend one of the most cruel and shameful actions imaginable, this was to dig up the bodies of the Huguenots who had fallen in the late sortie, and who had been interred promiscuously with the Catholics in the neighbouring churchyards, and to cast them to the wolves and crows: but the difficulty of distinguishing the one from the other, and the threats of retaliation by the army (two-thirds of which were Huguenots) deterred the authors of such outrages from their design. The king was more afflicted by these dissensions than either by his wound, or his other misfortunes; but his resolution, his constancy, and invincible courage, soon changed the face of things.

IV. A few days after the above events Henry received certain intelligence that the duke of Maïenne, after having restored order in Paris, had joined the prince of Parma, with all the troops he could collect, and also those under the duke de Sfondrato, and that they were advancing with the intention of giving him battle. The king immediately forgetting all his late reverses, testified so much joy at this intelligence, and appeared so confident of a victory, should he bring the

enemy to an engagement, that he completely regained those who had become indifferent to his cause, and the fate of France.

That he might gain time to abandon his lines without confusion, and regulate the order of his march, the king sent Givry to throw himself into Neufchâtel,* which the enemy would be obliged to take before they could come to Rouen. This, although a very strong place, did not hold out near so long as was expected: the cause of which is difficult to be assigned; but the whole blame was cast upon Palcheux, who was much weaker, and worse sustained, than Givry.† Although an old officer, and distinguished by his actions and his wounds, he sustained all the violence of the storm, and was put under arrest at Dieppe. The relations and friends whom the garrison of Neufchâtel had in the party of the league, seemed to me to be the true cause why the place made so slight a resistance. It surrendered in the middle of March, 1592. The king, by his care and diligence, repaired this misfortune, and brought off his troops from Rouen without receiving the least check;‡ and, putting himself at their head, advanced without loss of time to that side on which the prince of Parma was approaching the city.

On his arrival at a plain, where the enemy's army must pass, he waited for it; and as soon as it appeared,

* A city in the county of Caux.

† "Neufchâtel might have been taken in an hour's time," says Matthieu; who nevertheless, as well as the duke of Sully, blamed Givry for surrendering without making greater resistance, vol. II. p. 102.

‡ This siege cost the king a great many soldiers: it was said at the time, that he lost three thousand men, and the besieged only a hundred and twenty. The earl of Essex challenged admiral de Villars to single combat, who replied that his quality of governor would not allow him to accept his challenge. See the Chron. Novenn. and Mezerai.

sent and offered the prince of Parma battle. The prince accepted it with a joy that was far from being sincere: he was afraid of engaging with a general such as he knew Henry to be, and of exposing to the event of a battle the reputation of the greatest warrior in Europe, which a long series of great actions had acquired him amongst his partizans. Finding himself now in a situation where he might be forced to fight, he had recourse to one of the most artful stratagems imaginable to avoid it: he caused the best troops in his army to advance, and composed of them a front of battle, behind which he drew up, as without design, all his cavalry. Under favour of this front of infantry, in such order as was usual for an action, and seeming to wait only for the signal, all his cavalry, the remainder of his foot, and the whole baggage, entered into the defiles which served for an outlet to the enemy's camp; and, covered by hills and bushes, which the prince of Parma knew well how to take advantage of, they saw themselves immediately out of reach of the king's army, who were ignorant of all that passed behind the camp. This front of infantry, which had no depth, taking the same rout after the others, in four and twenty hours all disappeared; nor was it possible, on account of the ground being full of narrow streights and necks of mountains, to disorder the enemy's retreat, or to engage with his rear guard.

The prince of Parma was extremely rejoiced, that, without the least loss, he had reached almost the gates of Rouen. He knew no person would be rash enough to attempt to attack him under the walls of that city; his design, therefore, was to stay there six weeks, which was a sufficient time to refresh his army, and afterwards

to march back to the Somme by Neufchâtel, Aumale, St. Valery,* and Pontdormy, confining all the expeditions of this campaign to the advantage of putting this capital, and the rest of the cities that kept firm to the league, in such a condition as to apprehend nothing from the king's army. Henry penetrated into this general's views, and laying aside his design of making head against an army so advantageously posted, suffered the prince of Parma to enjoy his triumph, and laid another snare for him. He disbanded his whole army, as if it were now become useless to him, or that he were constrained to it by necessity. Part was dispersed in Arques, Dieppe, Gournai, Andely, Gisors, Magny, and other distant places; and part had Mante, Meulan, and the adjoining places for its quarters: the rest he spread about Pont de l'Arche,† Evreux, Passy, Vernon, Conches, and Breteuil, and fixed his head quarters at Louviers. This conduct was sufficiently justified by appearances: it would not have been long possible to have subsisted a numerous army, had he kept them together; but by the disposition of his quarters, particularly the last, where he had distributed all his best troops, and the promise he had exacted from his officers to repair to Pont de l'Arche at the first order, it was easy for him to re-assemble his army in a short time. This separation, he did not doubt, would make the Spanish general perfectly secure, and furnish him with some means of surprising him, at least in his retreat.

Indeed the prince of Parma, fearing that Rouen, surrounded by so large an army, would be in want of

* St. Valery in Picardy.

† All these cities, as well as the places abovenamed, are in Upper Normandy.

provisions, and being told that there would be no danger in spreading his army over the country, he sent part of his troops to Ponteaudemer: D'Hacqueville* delivered up this city to him cowardly enough; and the king not only seemed to be indifferent about it, but also feigned ignorance of the enemy's design upon Caudebec,† which greatly annoyed the city of Rouen, and neglecting to send supplies to La Garde, who was governor of it, suffered this place to be taken likewise. He observed, with extreme satisfaction, that the enemy, after these two conquests, drawn by the conveniency of odgings and provisions, extended themselves along the Seine, below Rouen, as far as they could. The Spanish general, however, was not without suspicion of some design in this inactivity, so unusual with Henry; and probably, had he been the sole commander of this army, he would not have hazarded so much; but his colleague, the duke of Maïenne, who was detained in Rouen by indisposition, assured him there was no danger; and he believed it, upon a supposition that he was better acquainted with the state of the country.

The king, finding the enemy contributed of themselves to serve his designs, resolved to hasten the execution of them. In less than eight days he assembled twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with which he speedily advanced to Varicarville and Fontaine-le-bourg. He shut up all the passages between Rouen and Caudebec, and began with revenging him self completely for the taking of this place and Ponteaudemer, by cutting off from the troops, which were there,

* — de Vieuxpont, lord d'Hacqueville. He was gained, it is said, by a sum of money.

† Upon the Seine, above Rouen.

all communication with the main body of the army, which put them wholly into his power. He afterwards went in person with ten thousand foot, and three thousand troopers, to attack the enemy's vanguard, commanded by the duke of Guise. The surprise into which his sudden arrival threw this troop, gave him an easy conquest of them. The duke's squadrons were broken through at the first onset, and he was obliged to fly with precipitation towards the body of the battalions, leaving, with a great number of the slain, all the baggage, which was very considerable, in the power of the victor.

The prince of Parma, struck as with a thunderbolt at this news, applied himself wholly to securing his other quarters, by placing the duke of Guise at Yvetot, and in fortifying the camp, in which he lodged his dispersed troops, on all sides. He was desirous of quartering all the army there; but as this camp was too small to contain it, he commanded the rest not to remove far from it, to guard their posts with great care, and to keep themselves very close. After this precaution, which he did not think sufficient, to support all the lodgments spread around his camp, he posted three thousand men in a wood which bounded them, fortified this wood all round with intrenchments, and united it by a line of communication with his camp. The last step the king had taken made him extremely formidable to the prince of Parma; but that prince thought to escape him by his great foresight and diligence in going wherever his presence was necessary: however, he was again mistaken. The next day the king ordered the baron de Biron to attack the wood with a body of eight thousand infantry, composed of an equal number of English,

Dutch, and Germans, in order that they might be animated by emulation to excel each other, and caused them to be supported by six hundred troopers completely armed. The attack lasted three hours, at the end of which the wood was carried; those who defended it, seeing themselves broke through, fled in disorder to the fortified camp, after having lost eight hundred of their men. Their flight exposed the greatest part of the lodgments, particularly that of Yvetot, where the prince of Parma thought he had inclosed, as in a safe asylum, the duke of Guise, with the same vanguard that had been so badly handled before. Henry, as if he had a personal hatred to the duke of Guise, hastened to reconnoitre the quarter of Yvetot, and judging by the alarm, and the confused cries he heard there, that their consternation was not yet over, he fell upon this quarter with four hundred musketiers and a thousand foot, armed with pistols and halberts, and attacked it in several places at the same time. The prince of Parma, who had not expected such rapid exploits, saw his whole vanguard upon the point of being put to the sword; and taking counsel only of necessity, hastened thither himself, and vigorously repulsed our efforts, till the troops of this whole quarter had gained the fortified camp. He lost there seven or eight hundred men, almost all private soldiers. The greatest misfortune was, that in this action, wherein he behaved like a man who knew as well how to fight as to command, he received a very dangerous wound in the arm.*

* The little reliance one can have on the exactness of those military details which the historians gave us, is shewn particularly in this, in which I have observed a great many contradictions amongst them, with regard to the encampments, and the number and date of the encounters. The author of these Memoirs relates all these expeditions in such a manner, that he

Night approached before this battle was ended. The king, instead of taking any rest after a day of such extraordinary fatigue, employed the night wholly in preparing himself for greater advantages. Judging, therefore, that the enemy's army, numerous indeed, and covered with intrenchments, yet dismayed, and half vanquished, would keep close within the camp, where their numbers would do them more harm than good, he hesitated not a moment in resolving to storm it. That readiness and dispatch which governed all the actions of this prince, was in him not only the effect of nature, but the fruit of reading, in particular the lives of Cæsar and Scipio, whom he studied in preference to all the conquerors of antiquity. He drew out in the night six pieces of cannon, which he directed against the fortification of the camp, that he might make use of them at

seems to allow but three or four days for actions which could not, and were not, performed in less than three weeks. He can no otherwise be justified, than by supposing that he intended to give a slight notion only of this campaign. D'Aubigné, either because he was ignorant of the facts, or had no design to relate them minutely, gives room for the same mistake as our Memoirs, vol. III. b. iii. c. 15. It is in De Thou, Davila, Matthieu, Cayet, and the Memoirs of the League for the year 1592, that we must look for them; although, as I have just said, their relations differ in many circumstances. According to the Memoirs of the League, which, in my opinion, merit most to be credited, the king defeated the duke of Guise on the 28th of April, and another body of troops on the first of May: on the 5th, he attacked the fortifications before the camp; and on the 10th, at five o'clock in the morning, began the great attack, in which the prince of Parma received his dangerous wound, vol. V. De Thou will have it, that it was at the taking of Caudebec that the prince of Parma was wounded, and that he did not pass the Seine till the 22d of May, b. ciii. Cayet is of the same opinion, vol. II. b. IV. p. 82, and following. Matthieu blames Henry IV for not taking the duke of Maienne prisoner at the skirmish of Yvetot, and, with as little reason, for avoiding a decisive battle, p. 109. The king is by some others accused of a still greater error, in being ignorant of the prince of Parma's preparations to pass the river, and with not knowing how to prevent him.

the dawn of day. He visited his whole army; and kept it in such a disposition, that it might at the same time and place be drawn out in order of battle. His commands were executed with the greatest exactness: his former successes gave an authority to all his words, that made the most mutinous obedient.

Here it is impossible to forbear praising the prince of Parma for a conduct, which, in my opinion, can never be sufficiently admired. His camp lay between Rouen and Caudebec, at some distance from the Seine, over which, in all that space, there was not any bridge; yet the next morning the whole camp was deserted; all the troops, who indeed lay there, it may be said, in heaps one upon another, those that were in Caudebec, and, in general, all that were spread about the neighbourhood of it, had transported themselves to the other side of the river. Scarce could the king and his army trust the evidence of their own eyes.

The prince of Parma had foreseen the king's resolution to attack him in his camp the next day; and he did not doubt, after what had passed, but it would be stormed, and his whole army delivered up to the mercy of the victors: a useless foresight, and only productive of despair to any other, whose prudence had not beforehand provided a resource: for notwithstanding all the duke of Maïenne's representations, he had not delivered himself up so entirely to that security he would have inspired him with, as to neglect any means that might extricate him from danger, if it should happen that he should be one day obliged to engage with the enemy in a country where there were so few resources, as on the borders of the Seine below Rouen.

These measures had been to provide himself secretly with all the boats he could find, which he caused to be brought near Caudebec, and it was to this precaution, which few generals would have been capable of, that the prince of Parma owed the safety of his troops, and the preservation of his glory, reputation, and perhaps his life. He caused these boats to be laid over the river in the night; and notwithstanding the disorder of his camp, and the inconvenience arising from his wound, he gave such good orders, that a bridge was built that very night, over which his whole army and baggage passed securely. This we received particular information of the next day at Caudebec, which surrendered as soon as we approached. He only deserves the reputation of a consummate warrior, who, before a battle, is as cautious as if he were persuaded he should be conquered, and in it behaves as if he were sure of conquering.

On the king's side, but one moment was lost in astonishment; all the others were employed in taking speedy measures to deprive the Spanish general of part of the fruits of his dexterity. Henry, after having well considered his attempt, and removed all doubts of success from his own mind, held a council of war, and there proposed to pass his army over Pont de l'Arche, or at Vernon, and pursue the enemy immediately. Some of us, though indeed a very small number, supported this proposition as it deserved: if it had been followed, this campaign had perhaps put an end to the war; but, as it should seem, the prince of Parma, having performed actions that raised him above humanity, obliged fortune now to come over to his side; for, upon the proposal of marching the army to Pont de l'Arche, a

cry was raised in the council, and a kind of general mutiny, as if the king had made the most unreasonable proposition imaginable. The Catholics, the Protestants, and the foreigners, seemed to outvie each other in searching for difficulties to oppose it: they exclaimed that the prince of Parma's army, being in a level country, might reach the gates of Paris* in four or five days; whereas it would be as long before we could gain Pont de l'Arche. They represented to the king, that the way through which they must pass being full of forests, mountains, and defiles, the army could reach the rendezvous only in small divisions; and that although it should even have time to come up with that of the league, the fatigue of so troublesome a march would make it impossible for them to attack it. In a word, they all treated this proposal as a design equally ridiculous and chimerical.

The king, more enraged at the secret intentions of those who talked to him in this manner, than the purport of their discourse, could not refrain from replying, with some bitterness, that all these difficulties were only insurmountable to those, to whom fear, and a dislike of fatigue, made them appear so. He plainly showed them that they might reach Pont de l'Arche in two days, and Vernon in four, from whence they could always send detachments of four or five hundred horse to retard the prince of Parma's march, to which also the many obstacles he would meet with would contribute, such as the passage over the river Eure; Lou-

* It is acknowledged by de Thou, that the king might have stopt this army, by sending his cavalry to shut up the passage to Pont de 'lArche. It is with great injustice, as we find here, that he charges Henry IV with this error.

viers, Passy, Maintenon, Nogent-le-roi, and Chartres, all being sufficient to oblige him to go greatly out of his way: that the enemy had no bridges open to them, but those of Aquigny, Cocherel, Serisi, and two or three others, which lay out of their road; and that it would not be impossible to break down or burn part of these bridges, before the enemy could arrive.

These arguments sufficiently proved the king's scheme to be not only possible but practicable; and it may be said, that the general officers, by refusing to yield to them, resisted the strongest conviction. And this naturally occasions two reflections: first, how it happened that a prince, who in all his expeditions made use of mercenaries, picked up wherever he could find them, of different countries, manners, religions, and interests, often a very small number, and always ready to mutiny, was able to perform what is related of him? The second is, what this prince would have done, if, instead of such troops, he had had a considerable number of well disciplined soldiers under his command, all united, obedient to his will, constantly attached to his person, and willing to sacrifice their lives for him; in a word, such troops as those conquerors had, whose actions have been so highly extolled by posterity? If these reflections are not made every time they offer, it is because that must be done in every page: and besides, no one can be ignorant, that we should judge very ill of merit and abilities by success, if we did not at the same time judge of the success by the obstacles.

It is scarce possible to assign a reason for that invincible obstinacy which the general officers in the king's army discovered upon this occasion, in opposing so prudent a proposal, unless it was owing to that dis-

position of mind which I have just now mentioned. If a small number of French Protestants be excepted, whose fidelity was unquestionable, and most of the English troops, who seemed to act sincerely with us, all the rest of the king's army, Protestants, Catholics, and foreigners, served him without affection, often unwillingly, and perhaps wished, more than they feared, that he might suffer some considerable loss. However, notwithstanding this bad disposition towards their leader, on some occasions they all performed their duty, and seconded him bravely; such were the attack of the duke of Guise, the encounter at the wood, and the battle that followed it. Such would have been the attack of the prince of Parma's camp, if he had waited for us; for at that time all the king's operations, which he knew well how to make dependent upon each other, were executed with such rapidity, that he did not suffer their courage, when once heated, to have time to cool, nor their minds to return to their usual habits of thinking: the behaviour, likewise, of a small number of brave men is alone sufficient to raise emulation in a whole army, and force it to follow their example, when they are once engaged: but this fierceness, and this ardour abated, their former ideas return with greater violence, and are so much the more capable of embittering their minds, as they then become sensible that they have done the very contrary of what they intended.

Unhappily the leaders of the royal army were in this unfavourable disposition, when the king made a motion to pursue the prince of Parma. The Catholics, who had a little time before publicly declared that they were resolved to withdraw their assistance, if the king did not abjure Calvanism within a certain term, which

they prescribed to him, and reunite themselves with the rest of France, in order to elect a king of their own religion, these Catholics could not relish a project, which, by making the king master of his enemies, would consequently put him in a condition to give them law instead of receiving it from them.

The Huguenots, who feared this change of religion as much as the Catholics endeavoured to enhance the necessity of it, took umbrage at every thing, and always thought they were upon the point of being sacrificed, while the king only sacrificed himself to that necessity which obliged him to endeavour to gain the Catholics. Through an apprehension that, by extirpating the league, they should only labour for the Catholics against their own interest, they the easier reconciled themselves to circumstances which would at least make the balance even, and render them necessary: and, in case the king should one day forsake their religion, they were resolved to take such measures beforehand, as might make them be feared both by the Catholics, and by him whom they should give them for a master.

These precautions were, to procure a number of towns to be yielded to them, to obtain such favourable edicts, and so many other securities, that the king, although a Catholic, should find it his interest to keep on good terms with them. It was towards this end that the duke of Bouillon, who governed absolutely the resolutions of the party, directed all his views, and to which he made the five or six hundred German horse under his command subservient. On the slightest occasion of discontent, or rather on the first caprice, they broke into murmurs, and threatened, as

they did then, that they would return immediately to Germany. The king, being obliged to behave in such a manner as to satisfy equally parties so opposite, was greatly perplexed by his endeavours to stifle these seeds of division: he was desirous of avoiding an open rupture, or at least of protracting it, till he should be out of danger. It was this perplexity that reduced him to compliances very prejudicial to his affairs.

No labyrinth was ever more intricate than that complication of interests which divided the different parties composing the king's army. I have yet but touched upon the smallest part. The Catholics, besides their common object, had each of them his own private one in view, which was to make Henry purchase their personal services at a very high price; and he was convinced, that without this satisfaction he could not bring affairs to a general conclusion. The interests of the French Calvinists were not entirely the same with those of the foreign Protestants. There were certain times when the English, who alone were united, murmured amongst themselves, that, in all the dangers they were exposed to, they were actuated by a principle of generosity, which, whatever turn affairs might take, would bring them no advantage; and, while this reflection employed their minds, they would look upon themselves as madmen, who sacrificed their lives purely to gratify the passions of foreigners, and demand leave to retire, as they did upon this occasion, when they absolutely refused to engage beyond the Seine, seeing neither any security or resource for them in a country at such a distance from the sea. To exasperate them still more, and to strengthen their suspicions, the Catholics seized those moments of discon-

tent to persuade them, that the king's abjuration was become absolutely necessary.

With regard to the other foreigners, who only acted as they were paid for their services, d'O, and these same Catholics, had a secret equally short and infallible, and they made use of it frequently; this was to keep the king in want of money. Therefore, when the Swiss and German horse were asked if they would pursue the prince of Parma, they replied only by demanding their pay; swearing, that, if it was not instantly given them, they would return to their homes, or engage in the service of the league.

Even the Spaniards, the king's declared enemies, had also their intrigues, and took part in this prince's affairs. At this very time they made a proposal to him not only to withdraw their troops, but even to lend them to him, to serve him against the league, in a word, to put the crown upon his head, provided he would yield Burgundy and Brittany to them for ever; and, in order to remove those scruples which so liberal an offer might raise in the king's mind, they recalled to his remembrance the example of Francis I, who, they said, in a situation less pressing, had given up to them the sovereignty* of Flanders and Artois; and that of Henry II, who had given Spain more towns than were contained in both those provinces.† The

* By the treaty which was made during the imprisonment of that prince at Madrid, the 25th of February, 1526, Francis I, resigned his claim there likewise to the dutchies of Burgundy and Milan, to the kingdom of Naples, &c. but this treaty was declared void by the states of the kingdom assembled at Cognac.

† By the treaty of Château-Cambresis, in Jan. 1559, after the battle of St. Quentin, for three cities only of Ham, Câtelet, and St. Quentin, France yielded to Spain and her allies more than an hundred and fifty fortified

king had sufficient reason to believe that so unseasonable a proposition was a piece of Spanish artifice, similar to that attempt at Hagemau, which tended only to create more confusion, and render him suspected both by the Protestants and Catholics; but had this proposition been really sincere, he had an infinitely stronger motive for rejecting it, which was the implacable hatred he bore to Spain and the house of Austria.

At last even the league, for some view or other, entered into the resolutions that were taken in the king's council. Villeroi, Jeannin, Zamet, and others, offered in the name of the league, to place him on the throne under certain conditions. It is very difficult to guess the true cause of this step: whether disgust at the pride and insolence of the Spaniards, an artifice to procure new supplies, or a design to alienate the Protestants from the king. The only evidence of the sincerity of this proposition was the very hard conditions that were annexed to it: I shall soon have occasion to enlarge upon this subject.

One of the least of the consequences of this chaos of views and interests was the spreading over every affair an impenetrable obscurity, and creating in every mind jealousy and distrust. It is indeed surprising, that after this the Protestants and Catholics could live together in the same camp, without exposing the king to the grief of seeing them come to blows, and cutting each other's throats. Those who seek in a prince what is termed policy, will here find sufficient cause to praise the prudence of a king who kept so many

places. The constable Montmerency's jealousy of the duke of Guise, and his eagerness to be freed from his confinement, made him conclude this treaty, at which the whole kingdom murmured.

jarring interests united, and to admire his discernment in distinguishing those who acted with fidelity towards him: nor ought it to pass unobserved, that while so many various designs were secretly agitated, in outward appearance all was tranquillity and order: falsehood assumed the semblance of truth, and enmity concealed itself under the disguise of friendship. Those who pretended the greatest affection to the king, either betrayed him, or laboured only to advance their own interest.

It would be useless to dissemble, that the marshal de Biron often played this part, either through malice at being refused the government of Rouen, a desire of protracting the war,* or a disposition that took pleasure in creating discord and confusion. He was never known to agree with the general opinion, or to yield to the king's inclinations: he always contradicted, either for the sole pleasure of contradicting, or because he would oblige every one to embrace his opinion. In the council, when the question that has occasioned this digression was debated, he was neither for pursuing the enemy, nor for staying in Normandy: he thought it was necessary to get before and wait for the prince of Parma on the frontiers of Picardy, through which he would be obliged to pass in his return to Flanders; a project uncommonly chimerical, but which was immediately applauded by the Protestants who were devoted to the will of the marshal.

The king saw plainly, that all endeavours to retain such discontented troops in his service would be in vain.

* "What then, rascal! wouldst thou send us to plant cabbages at Biron?" said the marshal to his son, who proposed to him an expedient to finish the war at one blow. Perefixe, part ii. ibid.

The campaign was drawing towards an end, and a siege so long and fatiguing as that of Rouen made the soldiers extremely desirous of rest. The king was resolved to grant it them: he followed that maxim, that a prince should always have the appearance of doing voluntarily even what he is constrained to do. He told the foreigners, that he was willing they should return home, and gave them permission to do so. He distributed all the money he had amongst them, leaving himself without any to supply his necessary expenses; and though they were not wholly satisfied in this respect; yet they had reason to be pleased with the noble manner in which he praised and thanked them for their services. As he had left Normandy in peace, and (except Rouen, and a few other cities) entirely reduced under his obedience; and as there was no reason to apprehend that the army of the league would come thither soon, he permitted all the officers of his army, as well Catholics as Protestants, to retire to their homes, and, to lay the marshal de Biron under a necessity of not abandoning him with his Protestants, which, after this permission, he foresaw he would do, he declared that he would follow his advice, and in a few days would set forwards to Picardy; not that he really entered into the marshal's views, but as he had not yet shown himself in that province, nor in Champagne, he thought it necessary to make himself known there, and to endeavour to conciliate the affections of the people towards him. A secret and more powerful motive* contributed to favour and confirm this resolution; and

* His passion for mademoiselle d'Estrées. He sometimes stole away from his army to go and see her. He once disguised himself like a coun-

Biron, who knew and flattered the king's weakness, drew from thence his best reason.

tryman, passed through the midst of the enemy's guards, and came to her house, not without hazarding the danger of being taken. Notes upon the Henriade.

BOOK V.

1592 to 1593.

I. A succinct account of the state of affairs in the provinces of France during the years 1591 and 1592; intrigues carried on by the count of Soissons; his character. An abridgment of the Duke of Epernon's history: his disobedience; his character.—II. Several parties formed in the southern provinces of France: a short account of what passed there. The sieges of Villemur, and Epernai, where marshal Biron is slain: his eulogium. Death of the prince of Parma. Rosny marries again, and retires in discontent; the cause of it. He intercepts the memoirs of the negociations between Spain and the League; a detail and examen of those papers. A third party formed in France: the persons who compose it; and their views. Henry follows Rosny's advice. The wise and cautious conduct observed by them both. Conversations betwixt them, wherein Rosny advises him to change his religion. Henry sounds the Protestants upon this subject; Rosny's conference with Bellozane, the two Durets, and Du-Perron; conditions offered by the league to Henry: with what design; rejected.—III. The meeting of the states of Paris. A project of the prince of Parma's badly executed. Disunion of the Catholic chiefs in these states; their intrigues and artifices to supplant each other. The parliament of Paris publishes an arrêt; the zeal of its members for the honour of the crown; the truce; the great wisdom and ability of Henry in profiting of the dissensions among the chiefs of the League. Conduct of Villeroi and Jeannin. Rosny gives the king very prudent advice. The siege of Druex; taken by Rosny's means.—IV. Henry removes all obstacles to his conversion; particulars relating to his abjuration.

I WHILE the king, with a few Protestants, pursued the road to Picardy, the prince of Parma hastened to Paris, from whence, without any difficulty, he returned to Flanders, but little satisfied with his campaign, discontented to the last degree with the league, and its chiefs, and much troubled at a wound which he knew was incurable.

It is in general, and particular histories, that a relation of all that was performed this year, and the preceding, in different parts of the kingdom, must be sought for. The attack of St. Dennis,* where the chevalier d'Aumale lost his life; the taking of Stenay and Dun, in Lorrain; the defeat of the sieur d'Amblise, with the duke of Bouillon's† other exploits, either before or after his marriage; the loss of the battle of Craon,‡ the defeat of the sieur de la Guerche, and the blockade of Poitiers, are the principal actions, to which an infinite number of others in Provence, Dauphiné, and Poitou may be added. From the departure of the prince of Parma, to the negociations which preceded the king's coronation, many things happened worthy of notice, and may likewise be found there. I have, in another place, excused my silence on these heads,

* Claude de Lorraine, knight of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, having surprised this city at the head of a body of troops in the service of the league, de Vic repaired thither and beat them back. The chevalier d'Aumale was killed in this encounter.

† The duke of Bouillon took Stenay the same day that his nuptials were celebrated. Africanus d'Anglure d'Amblise, general of the troops of Lorrain, coming to attack Beaumont in Argonne, a city three leagues from Sedan, which the duke of Bouillon had taken from the duke of Lorraine, Bouillon defeated his troops under the walls of the place, and d'Amblise was slain.

‡ This battle was fought before the city of Craon, in Anjou, which the royalist troops had come to besiege; they were composed of French, English and Germans, to the number of 7 or 8000 men, commanded by the duke of Montpensier, the prince of Conti, the duke of Damville, &c. and were defeated by the duke of Mercœur at the head of the Spanish troops, and those of the league. About the same time, George de Villequier, viscount de la Guerche, attempting to pass the Vienne, a river in Poitou, was defeated at the head of a small body of troops of the league, and himself drowned in the river. See a relation of the blockade of Poitiers, and the several skirmishes before it, in d'Aubigné, Vol. III. book iii. chap. 11. For all these expeditions consult likewise the historians above cited.

and the liberty I allow myself of relating only the most important facts; among which are those that regard the count of Soissons, and the duke of Epernon; and upon those the above narrations did not permit me to enlarge.

The count of Soissons,* after having abandoned the king's party, and been at open variance with him at Bearn, still retained hopes of marrying the princess, his sister, of whose affections he always remained master. By the death of Henry III, to whom he had last attached himself, he was left in the king's army, whom he served without affection, and only till he had resolved upon some new project, or till some opportunity favourable to his passion presented itself. He thought he found one in the siege of Rouen, an enterprize, in his opinion, of too much importance to afford the king leisure to employ himself in other affairs. He pretended to take a journey to Nogent, and, stealing away from the camp, went secretly, and with the utmost expedition, to Bearn, in order to accomplish his marriage there, unknown to Henry; but he was one of those persons, whose most inconsiderable actions were strictly observed by the king. This prince penetrating into the count's designs, sent such orders there, that the count, upon his arrival at Bearn, found the princess Catherine indeed in the most favourable dispositions towards him, and some say that she had herself pressed him to come thither: but it was quite otherwise with the council, to which the king, in his absence, had committed the care of the province. The sieur de Pan-

* Charles of Bourbon, son of Lewis the first, prince of Condé, (slain at Jarnac) and of Frances d'Orleans-Longueville. He died in 1612.

geas,* who was at the head of this council, boldly opposed him, showed him the orders he had received from the king, raised the country against him, and obliged him at last to return to France, with the disgrace of having failed in his attempt, for which the count could take no other vengeance on Pangeas, than by throwing him down a staircase one day, when he met him in the king's apartments at Pontoise.

By these traits the count of Soisson's character may be easily understood; to finish the picture, let it be added, that there never was a more blind or more boundless ambition. To him every new event appeared to lead him a step forwards to the attainment of his ends, and engaged him in new measures, which only threw him at so much the greater distance from them, as he imagined he approached nearer. He himself knew not the object his wishes aimed at; restless, uneasy, and jealous, his ambition was fed by every thing, and drew advantage from nothing. Nature had given him qualities quite contrary to those of the king; he resembled him neither in temper nor manners. The king was open, frank, and generous; the count of Soissons, to a mind naturally reserved, and incapable of a wise foresight, added an affected moderation and despicable cunning. He endeavoured to impose upon the world an assumed seriousness for an air of grandeur; laboured to appear impenetrable, and mistook the frozen countenance, which false gravity wears, for respect. Pomp, and the ostentation of grandeur were his taste: in a word, ambition had taken absolute possession of his heart, and his whole behaviour was made up of

* ——— de Pardaillan de Pangeas, or Pangeac.

ceremony and formality. The near affinity this character bore to that of the Spaniards in general, was perhaps the source of that antipathy the king conceived for him, and which he could never surmount.

As for the duke of Epernon,* ambition was not his predominant passion; he was likewise actuated by an unconquerable pride; an insolence, or rather a natural ferocity, which showed itself in every word and action. Ambition, it is said, makes use of various methods to accomplish its designs: Epernon, regarded in this light, could not be an ambitious man, for he used only one, which was that haughtiness by which he expected to

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon, colonel general of France, governor of Guienne, Metz, and the county of Messin. He died in 1642, aged 88 years; and as the author of his life observes, he was the oldest duke and peer of France, the oldest officer of the crown, general of an army, governor of a province, knight of the order, and counsellor of state, and almost the oldest man of rank in his time. They called him the king's wardrobe, because of the great number of posts which he possessed in this prince's household. There is recorded an excellent answer of his to Henry IV, who one day in anger reproached him with not loving him. The duke of Epernon, says his historian, without being surprised at the king's rage, answered coolly, but with great gravity, "Sire your majesty has not a more faithful servant than myself in the kingdom; I would rather die, than fail in the least part of my duty to you; but, sire, as for friendship, your majesty well knows that is only to be acquired by friendship." The king, who equally knew how to admire great actions and speeches of this kind, turned all his indignation into esteem, &c. Life of the duke of Epernon, page 225. The character which is here given of him by the duke of Sully, is rather too strong; however, it would not be easy to refute what he says: all the historians agree with him in charging the duke of Epernon with a boundless ambition, and his correspondence with Spain is proved by several letters of the cardinal d'Ossat. As for his extraction, "Patrem," says Busbeq, "habuit bello egregium, avum, tabellionem sive notarium." Epist. 17. On the contrary, according to father Vaissette, he was descended from William de Nogaret, famous for his quarrels with the pope in the reign of Philip le Bel. Consult likewise our genealogists.

carry all before him. In a word, ambition was, in him, but a natural love of independence, inspired by a harsh disposition, misanthropy, and a presumption that made him consider himself superior to friendship and rewards. He hated the king, because he hated the whole world; and, without doubt, there were moments when he was not well satisfied with himself. A constant disobedience to his superiors, an insolent behaviour to his equals, and a cruel and insupportable conduct towards his inferiors, make up the rest of his character.

Epernon, finding that his enterprises had not the success his pride had flattered him with, was obliged to alter his behaviour, and sometimes, though but seldom, behaved courteously to those whom he might have occasion for; but even his kindnesses, if that phrase may be allowed when speaking of him, had a sort of spleen and contempt in them: so that if he hated the world, he was equally hated by it; no one served him from any other motive than fear, which was the cause that, with great dispositions for war, and in a situation which might have made them useful, he ruined his affairs. Provence and Dauphiné held for him, and for Valette* his brother. These provinces, whose governor, before him, had been the grand prior,† the natural brother of their three last kings, despised him for his extraction, and hated him for his cruelty. They were rejoiced when Epernon (who, when Henry III was living, would not remove far from the court) sent them La Valette in his stead, who made himself beloved in Provence, and served the king with fidelity. Henry III, becoming ac-

* Bernard de Nogaret, admiral of France.

† Henry, count d'Angoulême, son of Henry II, and of ——— Livingston, a Scotch lady.

quainted with the true character of his favourite, began himself to be apprehensive of him; he disgraced Epernon, and had thoughts even of putting him under an arrest at Angoulême. La Valette, on this occasion, lost his government; but all was restored to them after the murder of the duke of Guise, which laid Henry III under the necessity of strengthening himself with every one whom he could engage in his party, at any price whatever. After the death of this prince, Epernon, whose vanity would not suffer him to obey the king of Navarre, quitted him at Pontoise, notwithstanding all the solicitations he made him by messieurs de Bellegarde and Roquelaure to return, to which he condescended himself to intreat him. To oppose a king was a circumstance highly flattering to his pride, and in his government of Provence he forgot nothing that might contribute to it: he was the first among the nobility to sign the king of Navarre's exclusion from the crown. It will not be rash to judge, by Epernon, of the sincerity of this plea of religion, with which it was then usual to cover a revolt against the lawful authority.

II. The remainder of the duke of Epernon's history will give a superficial knowledge of the affairs of the provinces in the south of France. He there experienced great reverses of fortune: the two brothers assisting each other mutually, were often worsted, and could not prevent three or four considerable parties from being formed in Dauphiné and Provence, which opposed them there, without reckoning one in each of the great towns, who endeavoured to make themselves independent. The duke of Savoy,* and the duke of Nemours his brother, carried on intrigues there, and

* Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. He died in 1630.

their party became very powerful, after the king of Spain had permitted the duke of Savoy, who was his son-in-law, and whom he vigorously supported, to be acknowledged count of Provence, and to hold this fief of his crown. In the midst of their successes, these two princes met with a formidable rival, who stopped their career, and reduced their party to ineffectual menaces. This was Lesdiguiers,* remarkable for his valour and good fortune against the duke of Savoy; he always continued faithful to the king, and could never be reproached with having appropriated to himself the fruits of his actions, nor of having coveted the sovereignty of Dauphiné. Perhaps he only wished that the king might long have occasion for his assistance, and never come into that province. Messieurs de Montmorency and d'Ornano† gave great strength to this party. The others were formed by the duke de Joyeuse,‡ the countess of Sault, and the count of Carces, with the sieur de Vins. Lewis d'Aix and Cajoux; Ligny, Martinengue, and many others, raised tumults there, and filled these countries with divisions and slaughter; but their faction did not yet extend itself beyond the bounds of one city. La Valette was hardly able to support himself longer in Dauphiné, when he was slain at the siege of a little inconsiderable town.§ The duke of Epernon immediately invaded this goverment: for form's sake he demanded letters patent for it from the king,

* Francis de Bonne, duke of Lesdiguiers, constable of France.

† Alphonso d'Ornano, colonel of the Corsicans.

‡ Antony Scipio, knight of Malta, who took the title of duke de Joyeuse after the death of his brothers.—Christiana d'Aguerre, countess of Sault, baroness of Viennes—Gaspard de Pontevez, count of Carces.—Hubert de la Garde, lord of Vins.—Charles de Casaux, &c.

§ Roquebrunne in Provence.

who durst not refuse him them: but, instead of quelling all these different parties, he went thither only to make a new one, upon which the king had as little reason to depend as any of the others. One may judge of this, by what passed at the siege of Villemur,* the only action which I shall give a particular relation of from memoirs, the authenticity of which I can answer for.

The duke de Joyeuse, a zealous partizan of the league in Languedoc, having drawn together five or six thousand foot, and eight or nine hundred horse in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, advanced with them on the 15th of June, 1592, towards Montauban, pillaged the little villages and the flat countries, and after exercising all the cruelties usual in those miserable times, came and laid siege to Villemur.

The sieur d'Ariat, after whom I relate these circumstances, and the citizens of Villemur, had recourse to Thémines† who commanded for the king in that province, and intreated him to come immediately with powerful supplies to their assistance. Thémines knowing he was not strong enough, addressed himself to the duke of Epernon, and while he waited for the reinforcement the duke promised to give him, sent a detachment of small bodies of cavalry and foot, which got into Villemur with great difficulty, the troopers on foot, because their horses could be of no use to them, the city being so closely environed. Joyeuse was severely punished for the error he was guilty of there, as we shall see presently. This error was attacking the town itself, instead of beginning with the castle, which, although much stronger in appearance, was in reality

* A city of Languedoc.

† Pons de Laufiere de Gardaillac, afterwards marshal of France.

the weakest. Without doubt he was not sufficiently acquainted with the place, or had a design to make use of the magazines of corn, and other ammunition, of which he knew it was full.

Epernon sent indeed a considerable body of troops; but as he had given them orders to act cautiously, and particularly to avoid hazarding a battle, these troops, although great expectations were raised by them, minded nothing but recreation, abandoned their posts, and by their bad example did more harm than good to the other royalist soldiers. Joyeuse, who did not want courage, especially when he was to act in person, finding the occasion favourable, and perhaps doubtful of the duke of Epernon's designs, fell upon his soldiers, surprised them, and would have made a great slaughter, if Thémines had not hastened thither time enough to save the remainder; he could not, however, prevent seven or eight hundred from being slain. There needed no more to make Epernon recal them entirely.* Thémines afterwards strongly solicited both him and the marshal de Matignon for assistance, but in vain; and all he could do was to throw himself into Villemur, with d'Ariat, two hundred and fifty arquebusiers, and about a hundred or a hundred and twenty troopers, to support the besieged, whom Joyeuse pressed more vigorously than before; he obliged Reiner, who was lord of it, but who was grown too infirm to perform the duties of a governor upon this occasion, to quit the

* All this is so positive, that it may balance the authority of de Thou, who mentions this fact very favourably for the duke of Epernon, and that of the author of this duke's Life, who maintains that his soldiers drove those belonging to the league from Villemur, and put that place into a state of defence, p. 134. The Chronologie Novenn. agrees here with our Memoirs, Book iv. p. 63, as likewise the Memoirs of the League, vol. V.

place, and resolved to defend himself there till the last extremity, being assured that the king, whom he acquainted with his situation, would not suffer him to perish. Indeed this prince wrote instantly to the dukes de Montmorency and d'Epernon, to send him supplies. The latter, accustomed to disobey, paid no attention to this order; but Montmorency sent him Lecques* and Chambaut, with some brave Protestant troops. These were still too few in number to oppose the army of Joyeuse, lately reinforced by the inhabitants of Toulouse: Lecques and Chambaut, therefore, had recourse to Messillac,† lieutenant for the king in Auvergne, and to the viscount de Gourdon, as remarkable for his courage and fidelity, as for his deformity. These two officers marched immediately to the relief of Villemur, with eight hundred arquebusiers, and two hundred and eighty horse. Joyeuse sent to offer them battle, which they refused, warned by the misfortune which had happened to Epernon's troops, and solicitous only to accomplish their object. After this refusal, the cavalry of the besiegers, who found themselves too much straitened in their lines, demanded permission of Joyeuse to remove into the neighbouring villages, which this general granted with some difficulty, and contrary to the opinions of the sieurs d'Onous and Montberaut. He obliged the officers to give their words, that upon the first signal which should be made them, they would return to the camp.

Messillac, Lecques, and Chambaut, perceiving that this removal of the cavalry had extremely weakened the army of the besiegers, divided the whole of their infantry

* Antony Du-Pleix, lord of Lecques.

† Raimont de Messillac de Restignac.

into four bands, to each of which they added fifty dismounted troopers. A regiment of eight hundred men was drawn up in battalia within view of the entrenchments, with orders to charge on a certain signal. Four hundred men attacked the first entrenchment, and were supported by the four troops. The guard there usually consisted of no more than two hundred foot; but Joyeuse, who had spies amongst us, being informed of the designed attack a few moments beforehand, sent thither four hundred men more, and at the same time ordered three cannons to be discharged, which was the signal agreed upon with his cavalry. It happened, that, either through tardiness in obeying on their side, or eagerness on that of the Protestants, the cavalry did not come up till after the action was begun. Our men advanced before sunrise, and falling upon the first entrenchment, laid a hundred of those who defended it dead upon the ground; the rest fled towards the second entrenchment, and carrying thither only their fears, this, though much better than the first, was likewise stormed with considerable loss.

Thémines seeing all this from within the walls, seconded the assailants, and made so seasonable a sally, that he completed the rout of the besiegers. At this moment their cavalry showed themselves at the head of the camp; but, instead of putting a stop to this confusion, they no sooner perceived the eight hundred men, which composed the body of reserve, with three hundred horse, advancing against them, than they followed the example of the rest of the army, and sought for safety in flight. Their terror increasing every moment, it soon became a general route, which it was not in the power of Joyeuse to prevent. Dragged along himself

with the fugitives, he gained a bridge of planks and ropes which he had ordered to be thrown over the Tarn. The number of those who hastened thither, on this side, overcharging the bridge, it sunk under Joyeuse, and he and all that were with him were swallowed up in the river. Fear had so blinded the rest of the troops, that still imagining they saw a bridge where none now was, they plunged into the river where it had stood. More than three thousand foot, and four hundred horse, perished on this occasion, either by the sword or the waves, a prodigious loss for so small an army, while the royalists lost only thirty men. The citizens of Villemur beheld this sad spectacle from the top of their walls, with a joy mingled with wonder and horror, which made them compare an effect of fear, that had the appearance of a miracle, with that which the sacred history relates of the Egyptians at the passage of the Red-sea. But to return to the king.

Henry went into Picardy, and in order to give employment to his troops, sent the marshal de Biron to besiege Epernai.* The siege was long and obstinate, and Biron was there slain by a cannon ball;† and if the king, who was at that time staying at Compeigne, had not resolved to show himself before the city, they would have found great difficulty in taking it. He defeated some powerful succours which were endeavouring to

* In Champagne.

† The ball took off his head. He was almost as famous for his learning as his abilities in war. De Thou greatly regrets the loss France has sustained of his Commentaries. He commanded in chief in seven battles, and in these every wound he received made a scar. He was godfather to cardinal de Richlieu, who was named after him. The city of Gontaut, in Agenois, gave its name to this family. See the panegyric of the marshal in Brantome, vol. III.

throw themselves into the place, and obliged it at last to surrender.

His funds failing him entirely, the king was obliged, after this expedition, to disband the remainder of the foreign troops. He continued some time longer in his quarters, upon the report that was spread of the prince of Parma's having returned into France to execute the great projects he had formed against him. The death of this brave general* happened very fortunately for Henry, who saw himself not in a condition to oppose such an enemy. The Spanish army, having lost its leader, dispersed; and the time that was taken up in appointing his successor, gave the king leisure to breathe again: he drew near Paris, and thought of nothing but taking advantage of the absence of the Spaniards.

I did not attend the king in his journey to Picardy; I went to Mante, where finding madam de Châteaupers in a disposition favourable to my affection, I married her, and our nuptials were celebrated the same day that the prince of Parma,† with his army, passed through Houdan.

* At Arras in the abbey St. Vaast. The Spaniards were accused of having poisoned him through jealousy, but the wound he received in Normandy the year before, joined to the bad conformation of his body, was the sole cause of his death, as was acknowledged when he was opened. Cayet, ibid. 90. See in de Thou, book civ, a panegyric on his great qualities. His body was carried through Lorrain to Italy, attended by 160 horse, caparisoned in black. He was only 48 years of age. He complained of being twice poisoned by the Spaniards, if we may believe d'Aubigné, who assures us that the Italians were so fully persuaded of it, that from that time they could never endure the Spaniards, vol. III. book iii. chap. 28. And this also is the opinion of Bongars, book xlix.

† This could not be till the 23d or 24th of May, as the prince of Parma did not pass the Seine till the night of the 21st or 22d of that month. Here then is a mistake either in the New Journal of Henry III, printed in 1720, (where, in the 271st page, the duke of Sully's marriage is observed to be

To confess the truth, the king's politics were not to my taste. I saw with pain, that the exigency of his affairs laid him under the necessity of complying with every desire of the Catholics, while the Protestants were neglected; and after the departure of the foreign troops, which gave their rivals many advantages over them, their assistance was of no consideration. I had, in particular, often experienced the effects of their hatred or jealousy, from whence I concluded that I should never be able to advance my fortune; I was likewise disgusted with the king's behaviour towards me; his coldness, though I knew it to be feigned, had such an appearance of a total estrangement, that I determined to quit war, and retire to my estate, there to live far from business, and the tumult of life.

The event justified the king's prudence, and I was in the end, the first to come over to his opinion, and to give him advice very opposite to my former sentiments; but then I viewed things in a different light. The reflection on all that the Protestants and myself had endured; the little consideration I appeared to be then of, and somewhat of that general disposition of mind which always dictated the interest of religion, formed all my resolutions, and were the foundation of that system I built for the king, and which at that time seemed to me to be the only reasonable one. I would have had this prince, doing justice to those who had served him with zeal and affection, to have refused all other assistance, and cast himself entirely into their arms. I

celebrated on the 18th) or in the Memoirs of Sully. The baron de Rosny's second wife was called Rachel de Cochefilet, daughter of James, lord of Vaucelas, and of Mary d'Arbalaste. She was first married to Francis Huraut, lord of Châteaupers, and Marais, who died in 1590. She survived the duke of Sully, and died in the year 1659, aged 93 years.

was persuaded that after such an open declaration, of his dependence upon the Protestants, England, Holland, and all the Protestant powers in Europe, would exert themselves so effectually in his favour, that they would soon, without any assistance from the Catholics, seat him upon the throne. In this, as in every thing else, the king's understanding was superior to mine: he knew, from the first moment, that a kingdom like France was not to be gained by foreign hands; and although it had appeared even possible, yet it was the hearts of the French, rather than their crown, that this good prince sought to conquer; and he would have thought the rewards which, on that occasion, he should be obliged to bestow upon the authors of his elevation, to their prejudice, to have been an encroachment upon their lawful rights.

My last motive for retiring was, that a little after I arrived at Mante, the wounds in my mouth and neck, which I had received in the unfortunate rencounter at Chartres, opened again, and obliged me to go to Rosny to be radically cured, to prevent the fatal consequences which generally attend wounds of that nature. I continued there some time: after a life so tumultuous as that which, till this moment, I had led, I tasted, with higher relish, the sweets which retirement offers to a heart detached from ambition. I amused myself there with writing the events, varied by good and bad fortune, to which I had been exposed for the space of twenty years.

Buhy,* the king's lieutenant in the Vexin, came one day to visit me, and informed me that the king had written to all the governors to draw together what troops

* Peter de Mornay de Buhy, brother of Du Plessis Mornay.

they were able, and to come immediately to his assistance; for it was about this time that they were in expectation of the prince of Parma's return into France; and Buhy, therefore, asked me, if I would not, upon this occasion, do as others did. This question recalled the remembrance of the many governments which I had requested, and which had been denied to me; and, lastly, the post of one of the king's lieutenants, which the duke of Nevers, and the Catholics had hindered me from obtaining, in a very haughty and insulting manner. I answered this officer, with some emotion, that if the king had had any occasion for my services, he would have done me the honour to write to me. Buhy found something of anger in my reply, and like a good courtier, exaggerated it, when he repeated it to the king, and gave him to understand, that he ought no longer to have any dependence on me, for I had resolved to spend the rest of my days in the country. This circumstance was added by himself; for I did not esteem Buhy so much as to make him my confident. "His disposition "then is greatly altered," replied the king immediately, "for he never failed to be present on such occasions as "are now approaching. Although he excuses himself "on account of his wounds, I know well what detains "him; he is offended with me, and not without reason. "He would play the philosopher for the future; but "when I see him, I shall be able to make all up again; "for I know him thoroughly."

This conversation passed in the presence of the president Seguier,* who dined with me some time after, and related it to me. Having freely disclosed my most secret thoughts to this great magistrate, whom I knew

* John Seguir.

to be equally a sincere friend, an honest man, and an excellent politician, he answered me in these words, which I shall never forget, because they first opened my eyes, and removed my prejudices: "Sir, you ap-"pear to me to be touched with resentment. We "live in a time when tranquillity is very difficult to pro-"cure. The wisest amongst us are silent, and patient "in hopes of more favourable days; and the king is so "prudent, and so virtuous, that God will assist him, "and will make him our saviour."

Finding now no other inconveniency from my wound, than a little difficulty in speaking, I began again to ride on horseback, and, followed by fifty horse, made excursions upon the high road of Verneuil and Dreux to Paris, in order to resume my former occupation, which I perceived was again likely wholly to engross me. In the second of these journies, when I was one day riding towards Dreux, between the villages of Marolles and Goussainville, I met ten or twelve men on foot, who, the moment they saw us, struck into the woods with which that country abounds. I followed them immediately, and seized two of them, who had not quitted the high road: these were peasants who were returning from Paris, whither they had been to sell their poultry: I asked them some questions, and they answered me very ingenuously; they told me, that it was their custom to travel in the night, to avoid the inconveniences they were exposed to in those roads in the day, but that they had taken courage this once, having nine or ten persons in their company, among whom, they said, were three domestics belonging to messieurs de Mercœur, de Medavy, and de Vieux-Pont.

There needed no more to make me pursue these three men, whose mysterious journey excited my curiosity. It was impossible to overtake them; my people could only seize two others of those that belonged to Verneuil, from whom, finding I could draw nothing by threats, I made use of another method: I gave them four crowns, and promised them more, if they would tell me all they knew concerning the three domestics. They now desired me to follow them, and led me directly to a large hollow oak, surrounded with thickets, where they told me the three men had stopped, and put some papers into the trunk of this tree: in fact, I there found two tin boxes, and a ticking sack, which seemed to me to be full. This acquisition consoled me for the messengers' escape; and after rewarding the two men, I returned to Rosny, very impatient to open my packets.

They appeared to be such as I wished: in the first I found commissions from the duke of Maïenne to levy soldiers, several letters written in ciphers, in that general's own hand, to the duke of Mercœur: but papers more important engaged all my attention; they related to the *third party*, which was then beginning to be talked of, and amongst which I found two memorials that seemed to be of the utmost consequence. The first was a memorial of the demands which the president Jeannin * made upon Spain, in the name of the duke of Maïenne; and the second contained the answer given to these demands by the archduke Ernest, for the king of Spain. All the reflections imaginable could not throw so much light upon the duke of Maïenne's designs, the spirit of the league, and the politics of Spain,

* René Jeannin, baron de Montjeu, president of the parliament of Dijon.

as the contents of these two papers, of which the following is an extract:

The duke of Maïenne placed the league under the authority of the pope, and the protection of the king of Spain, upon the following conditions, which regarded the party in general, as well as himself in particular. First, that the king of Spain should furnish, and maintain in the service of the league, an army of sixteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse; in which army there should be two thousand foot, and five hundred troopers, all French, of whom the duke of Maïenne was to have the sole disposal, besides four thousand foot more, and five hundred horse, French likewise, who were to continue near his person only, and to be maintained by Spain: That the number of these troops should be augmented as occasion required: That the duke of Maïenne should have the chief command of these troops, and those of the party, with the title lieutenant-general of the crown, till a king of France was elected: That this election should be made in a general conference, by which they certainly meant the states of the kingdom: That till this election was made and confirmed, the pension which Spain already paid to the general should be augmented to as much more, that is from thirty thousand livres a month to sixty, besides a hundred thousand crowns, which he should receive immediately, and a hundred thousand livres after the ratification of the treaty; and in the mean time, they should begin, by putting him in actual possession of Burgundy: That, after the nomination of the future king, the duke of Maïenne should be continued in the government of the state, with the title of lieutenant-general; and that then, and not before, he should yield up the city of So-

issons to the Spaniards, because it was at present the only place of security he had for himself in France: That, if he found insurmountable obstacles, either in the election of a future king, probably from the king of Navarre, or in the invasion and keeping of Burgundy for the duke of Maïenne, the king of Spain should make the duke amends, by an annual pension of three hundred thousand livres, for the possessions he might lose in France, which pension should never be lessened or taken away, whatever agreement might be made between the king of Spain and the acknowledged king of France, but be continued to his heirs forever: That Spain should cancel all the duke of Maïenne's debts, or those of the king elected with the consent of that crown, if he was a native of France. That they should give suitable rewards to the other principal officers of the league; these were not named, either because the duke of Maïenne was less solicitous about the interests of others than his own, or that he thought this article would be easily settled, because, if money were wanting, the lords might be satisfied with pensions, dignities, or governments.

Such were the demands of the chief of the league, in which, as we have seen, he did not forget himself. For all this, he offered the king of Spain, (besides the crown, which, although he was not mentioned, could only be designed for a prince of the house of Austria, since the duke of Maïenne seemed to exclude himself) he offered, I say, a certain number of towns, for whose names, as well as that of the future king, blanks were left; those that Spain might take being to be restored to the French Catholics, under the protection of the king of Spain and the duke of Maïenne. All was cal-

culated for the security and indemnification of Spain, till the election of a king, without any further explanation; which proves also, that they thought this election would sufficiently indemnify that crown; at least, that they wanted, by this insinuation, to flatter it with hopes, in order to procure an immediate and effectual assistance from it. What gave rise to this suspicion was, their care in insisting upon, and often resuming, the following clause: That till all these articles were agreed to at Madrid, for which they allotted the space of a month, Spain should first begin by sending a powerful supply into Burgundy, which they said was in great danger. The more to hasten the resolutions of this court, the duke of Maïenne, who throughout the whole treaty showed himself to be a faithful servant (although a little interested) of the house of Austria, coolly protested, that if these conditions were not thought advantageous enough for Spain, she might turn to whatever side she pleased, for he was weary with bearing the burden, and wished for nothing more than to be eased of it.

But this dissimulation was useless: he had to do with a council who would not so easily change, and who understood their interest still better. To this memorial the archduke answered, in the name of the king of Spain, that his majesty was well pleased with the title of Defender of the League, and would consider himself as chief of the party: That they should find him always ready to grant them whatever supplies they demanded against the king of Navarre, and even more than they demanded; for he agreed to send into Picardy alone the nineteen thousand men formerly mentioned; it is easy to see with what design, this province bound-

ing the Low Countries; besides those which he offered to send into different parts of the kingdom. He did not seem to be so much alarmed on account of Burgundy as the duke of Maïenne, probably because the council of Spain discovered that this general, who had demanded the possession of the province, would be glad that the troops should be all employed there. Upon this article, he only granted wherewithal to raise a thousand German foot, and to maintain three hundred horse. It was added, however, that if the whole force of the war were turned against this province, his Catholic majesty would not refuse to send a considerable number of troops there; and, without doubt, in this he meant to keep his word.

As to what regarded Maïenne in particular, his Catholic majesty appeared much less liberal. Of all the articles this was the most reduced: he would make no addition to the pension of thirty thousand livres a month; and would grant him but two thousand foot, and five hundred troopers, and these only while he continued in person in the army. Upon the other articles he was silent. With regard to those places which might be seized, Spain consented that the duke of Maïenne should keep what he should take, provided she was allowed to do the same: she would not relinquish her demand of Soissons, and was absolutely resolved to have this city as a security for those advances she made in this war; she promised only to resign it after the election of the king: this nomination appeared still uncertain to Spain, who gave them to understand, that if she was satisfied with it, every thing might be expected from her gratitude, but beforehand she would risk nothing. For this purpose, all the other articles were left unan-

swered, and a new one was added, which was, that the duke of Maïenne should remove certain persons from about him, who, doubtless, did not support the interests of Spain with the French general; their names were not written; but it was said, that they had been signified by word of mouth to the agent for the treaty. Such were his Catholic majesty's dispositions, who by attending only to his own interests, and resolving to sell his assistance very dear, followed exactly the duke of Maïenne's example.

The perusal of these papers left no longer any room for resentment in my mind, and thinking them of great importance to the king, I hastened immediately to Compiègne. I found time and absence had not altered his sentiments with regard to me. I had half an hour's private conversation with him, and related briefly the occasion of my journey. The examination of the papers was deferred till the evening of that day, when, all the courtiers being retired, I was introduced into the king's apartment, and remained there shut up with him. After his majesty had sent for Beringhen and Choirin, to decipher the greatest part of the papers, we learned from them of whom the third party was composed, which as yet had been only mentioned in whispers: it had been formed even in the court, and was supported and directed by the abbé* de Bollozanne, the two Durets, and I believe the abbé du Perron; all of them dependants of the count of Soissons and the cardinal of Bourbon, and particularly attached to the latter. In all appearance, these persons were the authors, and at first

* John Touchard, abbot of Bellozanne—Lewis Duret, lord of Chevry, physician—and Charles Duret, counsellor of state, intendant and comptroller-general of the finances, and president of the chamber of accounts.

the sole promoters, of this faction, which was afterwards joined by messieurs de Nevers, de Longueville, de Villeroi, d'O, and the rest of those Catholics who were in the court, and who valued themselves upon being too good Frenchmen to suffer the Spanish dominion, and too zealous for the Roman Catholic religion to consent to have a Protestant king. The count of Soissons some time after joined these gentlemen; and it was reported, that, inconstant to his former mistress, he was several times upon the point of marrying mademoiselle de Longueville. They had assumed the name of Politicians, to distinguish themselves from the royalists and leaguers, and to show that they regarded the good of the state, and the preservation of the rights of the crown beyond every other consideration. Their principal view was alike to exclude every foreign prince, the duke of Maïenne, and the king of Navarre, from the throne. The bulk of the party knew no more; but the leaders, who were masters of the secret, thought of nothing but getting rid of the two last by the sword or poison;* after which they might, without any difficulty, make the cardinal of Bourbon king,† and, not to disoblige Spain entirely, procure a dispensation for him to marry the infanta.

When this project is compared with that of Jeannin, it is matter of surprise, that papers which contained such opposite schemes should be found in the same

* This accusation is to be met with in no other writer, and is of the number of those which the author ought not to assert without giving likewise a proof. [He doubtless found sufficient proofs of it in the papers he had seized.]

† His name was Charles; he was the third son of Lewis I, prince of Condé, and Eleonora de Roy. His other brothers were, Henry, prince of Condé, Francis, prince of Conty, and Charles, count of Soissons.

packet. Without seeking for the reason of it in the secrets of Providence, which, by presenting the king at one and the same time, with all the plots that were formed against his person, seemed to suggest to him such measures as were necessary to prevent them, it is my opinion, that it may be found in the different interests of all those persons, who, corresponding together, and some from a great distance, such as the duke of Mercœur,* without any other motive, than that common hatred they bore to the king, gave birth to a thousand chimerical designs, and delivered themselves up to all those suggestions which darted into their minds, without any other fixed and determined object than that of excluding the king of Navarre. In such a confusion of sentiments, it is not surprising, that such opposite schemes, to attain the same ends, should be met with.

I continued three days at Compiègne, in which time I had several conferences with the king, who appeared to be sensibly affected with the designed attempts against his person, because he had flattered himself, that his conduct would have suppressed such thoughts. Perceiving that the wound in my mouth still prevented me from speaking with facility, he sent me to Mante; at parting, he desired me to observe carefully every motion of his enemies, and to prepare myself to give him good advice on his arrival at Mante, being resolved, he said, to regulate his behaviour in so difficult a conjuncture wholly by my directions. He staid no longer in Picardy than was necessary to make some proper dispositions there, and set out for Mante. This city he preferred

* Philip Emanuel of Lorrain.

to any other, because by its situation it was best fitted to discover and overthrow the different cabals of his enemies, at a time when the intrigues of the cabinet were likely to succeed to the operations of war. His council was already there, and he caused the princess, his sister, to be conducted thither also. After the discovery this prince had just made of the plots that were laid against his life, it would have been the greatest imprudence imaginable, to have neglected any precautions necessary for his security. He doubled his guards, placed in Limay, which is the suburb of Mante, a body of English troops, whose affection to him was unquestionable, and resolved to suspect every body, since he was convinced that those persons whom he had admitted to his councils, his table, and his pleasures, were capable of forming the most violent resolutions against him.

If, of all the favours that a prince (as estimable for the qualities of his mind as for the greatness of his actions) could grant, esteem and tenderness are those which have most effect upon a man of honour, how much am I obliged to this prince, who honoured me in particular with his confidence at a time when infidelity, treachery, and all that interest could suggest to subjects who had exalted that idol in the place of love to their king, had left him no other part to take than that of a general reserve and distrust. Nor can I forbear to add (for why should I omit a circumstance which of all others seems most likely to procure me the esteem of truly virtuous persons?) that in a conjuncture so delicate, this prince was resolved to resign himself wholly to my direction, and to confide to me his destiny

and crown,* for without me he undertook not the smallest affair, persuaded that the advice of a man actuated by a sincere attachment to him, and (if I may use the expression) a true friendship, ought to be preferred to penetration and ability, when they are united with a dubious fidelity. Nothing ever gave me so pure and noble a delight as the honour of such a distinction: but after having resigned myself up to it some moments, I

* If we may believe De Thou, Gaspard Schomberg, count of Nanteuil, Lewis de Revol, secretary of state, and himself, contributed to fix Henry IV in his resolution of changing his religion. There is not a historian who ascribes it to any one particular person; they do not even seem to have thought of Sully in this affair, which however does not invalidate the truth of what is asserted in this part of his Memoirs, that it is chiefly, and even in some manner wholly to him, the honour of it is due. Tacitus tells us, that Augustus, after having deprived one of his chief ministers entirely of his favour, permitted him still to have the appearance of enjoying it: with regard to the duke of Sully, it was quite the contrary, for he already was in absolute possession of his master's favour, while no one suspected it. And that which is most remarkable in their history is, that a long time after this minister's favour with the king was known, by his being in possession of the first employments in the kingdom, even until his master's death, in public the king behaved to him with the utmost circumspection; while in private, never were familiarity and confidence carried farther between a king and his subject. Hence it was, that in some histories of Henry the Great, the authors of which, without penetrating into the secrets of the cabinet, contented themselves with representing only the public face of affairs, the name of Rosny is never mentioned, and that of Sully, so well known to writers better informed, very seldom, considering the part he played during the ten or twelve last years of Henry's life. Incomprehensible as this reserved and mysterious conduct appears, those who reflect upon the situation of affairs in those times, together with the religion of the duke of Sully, will comprehend, without any difficulty, the necessity the king and his minister were under, to observe this conduct and never to depart from it. Nor is this one of the least instances of the prudence and abilities of these two great men. I thought it necessary to make this observation once for all. "Rosny," says Matthieu the historian, vol. II. p. 278, "had a long time a share in the "king's most important affairs; and from the time of Henry III, was one of "his most intimate confidents," &c.

perceived the weight of the burden I was loaded with, and trembled amidst my joy, lest my weakness and incapacity should engage me in some false step that might prejudice, not me, for on those occasions self, I believe, is least in one's thoughts, but the prince who had laid it upon me.

From this moment, all those precautions the king made use of for the safety of his person, I also observed in the advice I was going to give him. I prepared myself for it by the most serious reflections on the state of the neighbouring kingdoms in general; and on that of France; of the parties into which it was divided, and of the king, in particular. I considered, that if in such employments as mine, one cannot even be guilty of unintentional faults, without deserving some reproaches, we draw those reproaches upon ourselves when we act according to the dictates of passion. This reflection led me to study carefully my own disposition, and the bent of my inclinations, and convinced me of the necessity of beginning with obliging my own heart to subdue and forget itself. A serious review of my past conduct showed me the injustice of those complaints which I suffered frequently to escape me against the king's behaviour to me and the rest of the Protestants. I searched into the grounds of it, and I soon found in that common prejudice, that to be worthy of the religion one professes, cruelty, perjury, and deceit ought to pass for nothing, provided one can secure the success of it. I suppressed these sentiments, equally injurious to the author of religion, as dangerous to him who makes use of such unworthy means: and when I declare, that there was nothing I more distrusted than those snares which

the zeal of religion might lay for me, I shall be easily believed, if the advice I gave the king be attended to.

When I was thus certain of myself, I the less feared to carry my views into that impenetrable chaos of different interests, and into future events, which offered, on every side, nothing but frightful precipices. Must the miseries of France be perpetuated by giving arms, perhaps, for more than an age, to two parties in religion, then almost equal? Must a prince, who so well deserved to be happy, wear away his whole life amidst the horrors of a war, which till then had not given him time to breathe; and, if I determined upon this, prepare for him labours infinitely greater than all he had yet endured? On the other hand, ought I to expose the whole body of Protestants in France (who sought only justice and peace) to become victims of human policy, and deliver them up to the snares of their most cruel enemies; and while uncertain of the event of the war, and at a time when the king might be suddenly taken off, ought I to bring things to such an extremity, that France might, perhaps, become a prey to Spain, and to all her neighbours, or, dismembered by a thousand tyrants, lose in one moment the glory of her name, the lustre of her monarchy, and the succession of her kings? What miseries to be expected by a war? what snares to be dreaded in a peace? how many dangers to be apprehended on all sides? was it possible to take any resolution, when alarmed by so many almost inevitable evils?

But the greatest danger was the not fixing upon any resolution at all. At last, when all was thoroughly examined, it seemed necessary to prefer that which would put an end to the civil war, restore tranquillity to France, submit it to a good king, and put it in a con-

dition to take vengeance on its foreign enemies: I mean that resolution which might the most effectually remove the present inconveniences, and procure time to bring a remedy for those which were to be apprehended. In one word, I resolved to prevail upon the king to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, and to persuade him to it by degrees. I was sensible, that by this means I should give disgust to two classes of persons, the Protestant neighbours of France, and the French Calvinists. But as to the first, France, when united with itself, had no occasion for any foreign assistance; and it was easy to give the second such advantages as would make them behold this change without murmuring. With regard to both, I depended upon the gratitude which a prince like Henry could not fail of cherishing for persons to whom he owed such powerful obligations.

These reflections wholly employed my mind from the moment I left Compiègne, and I was still absorbed in them when the king arrived at Mante. The first thing he did was to send for me to come to him with the usual precautions. Jacquinot introduced me into his chamber before day, and we immediately entered upon our subject. Henry, who on his side had made a thousand reflections on the perplexing situation he was in, began by drawing a very natural representation of it: irreconcileable interest in the princes and nobility of the kingdom: hatred amongst themselves, and rage against him; mutiny and disobedience in all minds; inactivity in the foreign allies; intrigues and animosity on the part of the enemies; treachery within; violence without; rocks and precipices on all sides. The end of this pathetic discourse was to demand what remedy I was able to apply to these evils.

I replied that, without taking upon me to give his majesty advice, I saw only three things for him to do, and he might determine upon which he pleased. The first was to satisfy every one's demands at his own expense, or rather at the expense of the state; the second was not to make concessions to any, but to endeavour to wrestle vigorously with them all; the third, which held a medium between these two, was to take away all obstacles that opposed his advancement to the crown, by turning Roman Catholic. The king then told me, that what I had said to him was my opinion only, and commanded me to tell him plainly, what I would do in his place. I endeavoured to make him comprehend the full extent of the three different methods I had proposed to him, by examining them one after the other. I pointed out to him, that by following the first, he would reduce himself to nothing; and that if there was a necessity to gratify wholly the rapaciousness of Spain and the French leaguers, he would scarce out of so great a kingdom keep a few provinces for himself. As to the second, I represented to him, that as soon as he should give room to believe, that he depended only upon the claim his birth gave him to the crown, the desertion of all the Catholics, and the unbridled fury of a whole nation of enemies both within and without the kingdom, would draw upon him a terrible storm. The inconstancy of fortune, and the usual reverses of war, although this prince had not yet experienced them, found their place in this reflection. As to the third, I was silent, only telling the king, that being a Protestant myself, I could say nothing upon this subject.

While I was speaking, I perceived the perplexity, into which the present conjuncture had thrown the king,

to increase every moment. I did not doubt, but the review of all these difficulties would bring him to the point I desired. I was sure that he would not pause one moment upon the first of my proposals. I knew him too well to believe him capable of agreeing to an accommodation which would leave him only the semblance of king, a subject or dependent upon Spain, or reduced at last to a small part of France. It was the two others only that embarrassed him. On one side, he said, by continuing in his religion he saw united against him all the princes of his blood, the nobility of the kingdom, and those who were at the head of all affairs, and the finances, such as messieurs de Epernon, de Nevers, de Longueville, de Biron, d'O, de Rieux,* de Villeroy, de Manou, de Châteauvieux, de Vitry, d'Entragues, and de Sourdis. It would be too tedious to mention them all. He saw them ready to resolve upon forming against him a body independant on the league, or, what was most probable, and likewise most dangerous, to unite themselves with the league, and deprive him of the possibility of ascending the throne. On the other, he objected the complaints of the dukes of Bouillon and La Trémouille, and the outcries of the Protestants whom he was about to abandon; those who were so dear to him, and from whom he had so long drawn his only assistance. He represented them as passing from discontent to a resolution which despair at being sacrificed by an ungrateful prince would inspire, which was to elect another leader, canton them-

* René de Rieux, lord of Sourdeac.—John d'O, lord of Manou, brother to the superintendant.—Lewis de L'Hospital, lord de Vitry—Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues.—Francis d'Escoubleau, marquis of Sourdis.—Joachim de Châteauvieux.

selves out in France, and oblige him to turn his arms against them. He concluded with these words: "I can "never use them ill nor declare war against them, for "I shall always love them." This sentiment, which discovered a sensibility so seldom to be found in the hearts of princes, moved me extremely: I thanked him, in the name of all the Protestants, by bending upon one knee, and kissing his hand. The reasons with which this prince opposed his change of religion, and the manner in which he delivered them, were what alone dissipated my apprehensions, and confirmed me likewise in the opinion, that no other remedy could be applied to the present evils. I told him that messieurs de Bouillon and de la Trémouille, and all those of merit and distinction in the Calvinist party, would not be so unreasonable as to take up arms against him, for a resolution which necessity only had forced him to embrace, when he continued to treat them with that esteem and respect which was due to their persons and services. I explained all my thoughts on this subject to the king, and added, that the foundation of all religions which believe in Jesus Christ being essentially the same; that is, faith in the same mysteries, and the same notions of the divinity, it seemed to me, that one who from a Catholic became a Protestant, or from a Protestant became a Catholic, did not change his religion, but followed, for the interest of religion itself, what policy suggested as the most proper means to compose all differences: but although my opinion should be erroneous, yet this must be allowed to be an incontestible truth, that the embracing the Catholic religion did not include the necessity of persecuting all others; on the contrary, that God perhaps disposed the king to this

change, to give a new spectacle to Europe, and one more worthy of religion itself: that the difference of religions had already too long produced the most tragical effects in France, and was a perpetual source of disorders and calamities, by the aversion with which it inspired the people against those of a contrary faith from their own, which was equally the case with the Protestants and the Catholics. I told the king, that he might remedy this dangerous evil, by uniting those who professed these different religions in the bonds of Christian charity and love; or if this was impossible, by prescribing to them rules so just as might make both parties contented with what was granted them. I sensibly affected the king by the idea alone of rendering his memory immortal by restoring peace, and plenty, and security, to a kingdom wasted with intestine divisions, and of meriting, by the use of those abilities he had received from heaven, the glory of giving happiness to France, after she had begun to despair of it, and to look upon her wounds as incurable. I am certain that this motive interested him more than that of his own quiet: which, however, I did not forget, and I obliged Henry tacitly to confess, that his spirits, after being exhausted, if I may use that term, with war, demanded a situation less turbulent, and more tranquil.

The strongest proof of the reasonableness and justice of the arguments I used upon this occasion, was, that the king, who possessed that happy sagacity of distinguishing immediately the truth or falsehood of any position, confessed to me that my discourse had penetrated to the bottom of his heart, which, he added, still resisted strangely, but that he believed he should

follow no other advice. In effect, at the end of three days he had taken his resolution, and he now only endeavoured to remove the difficulties which remained. Some of these regarded his own opinion; for sincerity and rectitude were fixed in his heart, and regulated all his words and actions. I am persuaded, that there is not any thing which could have prevailed upon him to embrace a religion which he inwardly despised, or even doubted of. A prince who had never deceived mankind, could have no intention to deceive his God.

The other difficulties related to the leaders of the Protestant party, whom the bare proposition of changing his religion would not fail to make revolt as well through fear, as a point of honour. He assembled them, and addressing himself to the most distinguished amongst them, which were messieurs de Bouillon, de Sancy, du Plessis, de Salignac, de Morlas, de Constans, and Salettes;* I also being present. He told them (with an intention to sound their inclinations) that he had brought them together to know their opinions upon what he had to communicate to them. He said he had received certain advices, that Bellozanne, and the two Durets, agents for the third party, had had an interview with Villeroy and Jeannin, and that it was agreed upon to unite all the forces of the league and the other Catholics against him; that the time which the Catholics had so often threatened him with was now come, for they were going to abandon him en-

* — Salettes was president of the parliament of Pau, and counsellor of state at Navarre. Morlas, his natural son, was member of the privy-council, counsellor of state, and superintendent of the magazines of France. They were both converted. Henry IV when he was informed of the death of Morlas, who was a man of great merit, said, "I have lost one of the wisest men in my kingdom." Chron. Novenn. Book vii. p. 545.

tirely, their common design being to place the cardinal of Bourbon upon the throne, to marry him to the infanta of Spain, and to endeavour by all possible methods to rid themselves of his person. That the cardinal, indeed, had expressed great reluctance to comply with this last proposition, but, from all appearances they would soon gain his consent, when they convinced him that the crown could by no other means be secured to him. He conjured them to tell him sincerely what they thought he ought to do upon this occasion, especially upon the desertion of the Catholics, which would reduce his party to the last extremity.

By the noise and confusion this declaration raised in the assembly, it would seem that all those who composed it, having never made any reflections upon what might happen, incapable of conducting their designs prudently, of keeping one determined object in view, or of preserving any sincere attachment to the king, had till then thought only of living from day to day; of gaining time, and profiting by their master's abilities for war. They could never agree, nor form any resolution fit to be approved of. They did not know whether to wish for peace, or continue the war. One said, that there was nothing to be done but to resume their arms, and risk all at one cast. Another was of opinion, that by arresting eight or ten of the principal Catholics, who were not yet upon their guard, particularly the contrivers of the plot, they might prevent the execution of it. Others more moderate, or perhaps more doubtful, contented themselves with saying, that it would be necessary to accommodate matters by negociations, without advising how. I took this hint, and by annexing to it some reasonable expedients, carried all

the votes for a negociation. They were not ignorant that I had some influence over the count of Soissons, and that I had free access to the cardinal of Bourbon. This cardinal often said in public, that although I was a Huguenot, there was no person in the world for whom he had so strong an inclination as me. I offered to use my mediation with these two princes, to prevail upon them not to listen to the persuasions of the king's enemies: and the better to ensure success, I promised I would endeavour to gain their dependents and counsellors, especially the abbot de Bellozanne, the Durets, confidents to the count of Soissons, and a lady called madam des Rosieres, an intimate of the cardinal.

No person opposed this advice, doubtless because the Protestants, who had heard the declaration, sensible that they were too weak actually to renew hostilities, thought that at present there was nothing better to be done. The king, on his side, was not sorry at its being unanimously voted by the Protestants, that he should address himself to the princes of the blood, and hold a correspondence with the Catholics of the league. According to my plan, I began with the abbé de Bellozanne. I knew that jealousy had made him the secret enemy of the Durets, and I thought that by taking him on this side, confirming him in his hatred, and flattering him with having shortly the chief part in all affairs, I should bring him to my purpose. I introduced myself with telling him, that I was come to thank him, in the name of the king, for having so generously opposed, in his favour, the attempt of the Durets, which could only proceed from the rectitude of his heart, and his good-will towards the king, which his majesty, although he had but a slight acquaintance with him, esteemed as

he ought: so that he might expect the most convincing proofs of his affection, which would certainly procure him a cardinal's hat, or at least one of the richest benefices in the kingdom when those rewards were in his power, by his change of religion, which was likely to happen very shortly.

This introduction, which flattered his vanity extremely, gave me occasion to enter, as if undesignedly, into the secret proceedings of the Durets, which I pretended to be well informed of, in order to learn them from him, and to engage him to oppose them more resolutely. In effect, I had scarce dropped a few words on this subject, when the abbé, giving way to his inclinations, fell severely upon the Durets, and spoke so much to their disadvantage, that I fell into the other extreme, and believed that he was induced by his hatred of them to accuse them falsely. The hint of the cardinal's hat and the bishopric producing its effect, Bellozanne pretended to feel that zeal for the king's service, which I affected to attribute to him. He endeavoured to persuade me, that he would oppose the violent resolutions of the Catholics, whose intrigues and views he informed me of. I flattered myself for some time, that I had brought him over to the king; but knaves soon resume their natural character. Immediately after he had made this protestation to me, he made one quite contrary to the cardinal of Bourbon, and afterwards to Villeroy and Jeannin, to whom he repeated all the conversation he had just held with me. If he drew advantage from his treachery, by the increase of favour it procured him, I, on my side, perhaps, made better use of it for the king, than if he had kept the secret; besides, finding means from thence to inform these gentlemen

of the king's disposition to embrace their religion, which drew them secretly towards this prince, Bellozanne's imprudence produced likewise another good consequence, which was the inspiring them with a desire of supplanting each other in their endeavours to acquire his favour. I therefore willingly pardoned Bellozanne's duplicity, and even drew a third good consequence from it, with regard to the Durets.

These gentlemen, perceiving the honour Bellozanne had gained by the new secrets he had disclosed to his patrons, and the increase of favour they had procured him, were the more ready to hear the propositions I went afterwards to make them. I told them, that the king, offended at Bellozanne's knavery (which in reality it was, because he had carried it so far as to give umbrage to the Protestants), would have no correspondence for the future with a man so little to be depended on, and was disposed to make use of them in the measures he would shortly take. I confided some papers to their care, the perusal of which I was certain would have a wonderful effect. This was the scheme for an agreement between the league and Spain, and the answer in consequence of it, which they had no knowledge of, and which I then shewed to them. This was a mortifying stroke for them; they thought themselves despised, and the project so reasonable as to fear it might be executed, and affairs brought to a conclusion without their participation; which to these sort of men seems the greatest of all misfortunes. They hesitated not a moment in offering me earnestly their services for the king. The change of religion, which I had also insinuated to them, seemed to remove all the opposition that could be made to this prince; they were charmed at

being employed in a scheme, the intention of which appeared to them more happy than that which the duke of Maïenne had proposed to Spain; or rather, there remained no other part for them to take, after the advantage Bellozanne had just gained over them. In effect, they kept the secret better, and laboured in it to more purpose.

I applied myself afterwards to the abbé du Perron,* who, by his character, his fame, and his eloquence, had more power with the cardinal of Bourbon, when he aimed at making him either adopt or change a resolution, than all the artifices of Bellozanne and the Durets. We had been acquainted a long time, and he had received some favours from me. I concerted my discourse before-hand, as having to do with a man for whom eloquence, great sentiments, and deep reasoning, had powerful charms;† and I introduced into it as much, or more, of politics and worldly views as of religion. My brother, the governor of Mante, was present at this conversation, when, after having insensibly introduced into my discourse some mention of the king's future abjuration, I undertook to prove to du Perron, that, except Spain and some turbulent persons in France, it was for the interest and advantage, not only of France, but of all Europe, that the king of Navarre should ascend the throne, and possess the kingdom in the same extent, and with the same power, which had been enjoyed by the kings, his predecessors.

* James Davy-du-Perron, afterwards bishop d'Evreux, and then cardinal; he will be mentioned hereafter.

† The duke of Sully's character of the cardinal du Perron seems more conformable to truth, than that given him by Joseph Scaliger, who treats him only as a babbler, *locutuleius* or *locutu levis*.

I began with the pope: I told du Perron, that he who had so perfect a knowledge of the court of Rome, knew better than any other person, that Clement VIII, now in possession of the holy see, was neither so violent as Sixtus V, nor so mutable as Gregory XIV. That the pope considered the present affairs of Europe and Christianity in a clear and impartial view. That it was not his intention, by breaking the necessary balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, to subject France to Spain, because he was not ignorant of any of the views of this last power for universal monarchy. That the pope would in this find not only his interest, as common father of the Catholics, but also his temporal interests in particular, because Italy and the patrimony of St. Peter would soon follow the destiny of France, and the other kingdoms; and the pope would be in danger of seeing himself one day reduced to the quality of chaplain to the kings of Spain. That besides, his holiness had too much judgment not to open his arms to a king, as soon as he should express his desire to be received there, without troubling himself about that mighty phrase a relapse, with which fools only were affected.

There was still less difficulty to be apprehended, with regard to my proposition, from the other crowned heads of Europe; I therefore did not dwell long upon them, that I might be at liberty to resume the conversation upon Spain. I asked the abbé du Perron, if he did not agree with me in opinion, that those deep politicians who gave rise to all the disorders in France, began to despair of the success of the great project they had formed to conquer France, and this upon the knowledge they had as well of the king, and the Pro-

testants in his interest, as of the French Catholics? Could the king of Spain ever seriously intend to make a Spanish province of France, and flatter himself that his domination would be endured by a people who had always emulated and hated Spain! Of all this there was already more than bare suspicion.

By the king of Spain's conduct it was plain, that he imagined the dukes of Maïenne, Guise, and Mercœur, sought only to make him their dupe; nor had he a more favourable opinion of the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, whom he saw make use of his troops and money without showing any greater respect for him. One convincing proof that these were the real sentiments of Philip was, the propositions he had made, and often renewed, to the king of Navarre, by D. Barnardin de Mendoza, Moreau, and the count de Taxis; for, in reality, that prince seeing that all he could expect from the troubles in France was, at the most, the possession of two or three of its provinces, it was of little consequence to him, whether he obtained them from the king or the league. It is true, that in sharing France with the chiefs of the league, he gained hopes of one day getting it all to himself, by separately attacking those petty kings: but, in effect, he then purchased these hopes at a very high price, by that scarcity of troops and money into which the greediness of the league had thrown him. And although the king should be able to maintain the war but for a short time, Philip perceived that he might perhaps be obliged to recal the supplies he lent to France, having but sufficient for himself in Flanders, where the war raged more fiercely every day.

Observing that du Perron listened to me attentively, and seemed to be convinced of the reasonableness of all I said, I did not so soon quit the subject of Spain. I told him it was not probable that so many brave men, fond of their liberty, their laws, and customs, would ever be easy under a foreign yoke, and resolve to bear away no other reward for their gallant actions, than the honour of being dependants upon the grandees of Spain, or at best pensioners of a king, who, although he had greater obligations to the prince of Parma than to any other person, yet never gave him any reward for his services: that the whole view of the French lords, by seeming to join the king of Spain, was only to procure the grant of greater rewards from Henry, while he continued in the profession of the Protestant religion; after which they would abandon, without any difficulty, that hacknied reproach of a relapse, as well as the design of choosing a king from amongst themselves, the marriage of the infanta, and all the rest of their idle projects. As a proof of the truth of what I said, I produced the treaty which the league had proposed to Henry by Villeroy and Jeannin, immediately after the raising of the siege of Rouen, (which I was not able to give a full account of in its place, but which I shall presently lay before the reader.) After this, turning suddenly towards du Perron, I asked him if it was not the interest of all good Frenchmen, and his, as much as any other, to prevent the accomplishment of such designs? if the good of the state required, that, by destroying in a moment an edifice which had cost the kings of France such labour to raise, and which some of them had cemented with their blood, France should be again filled with those little, ambitious, and cruel

tyrants, who claimed a right of giving law to their prince, and who were always liable to be crushed by the first enemy that attacked them? and lastly, if he must not confess that a monarchical government, by which all the members are united, and under the direction of one head, were not the most glorious and most advantageous of any, and particularly so for the French nation?

I cut short my discourse upon this third party of politicians, by observing to du Perron, that one of these two things must necessarily happen, either that they would unite themselves to the league, and so deprive it of all assistance from Spain; or take measures separately from it, which would produce the necessity of destroying, or being destroyed by it. In any of these cases, nothing could happen that would not be for the king's advantage. To conclude with what related to the king himself, I found no difficulty in making the abbé confess, that this prince was absolutely fitted to reign over the French. I represented to him, that his reputation was so well established every where, that the league had great reason to fear, and the third party (whose interest and credit were but very small) still more, that the provinces, the inhabitants of which did not deliver themselves up so blindly to the caprice of the league as those of Paris, would put themselves entirely under the protection of this prince, after the ferment in men's minds should have subsided, and given place to that love of rest, so natural to those who have suffered calamities; that the provinces began already to show their discontent openly; but without all that, could not the king, brave and experienced as he was, and assisted only by the Protestants and foreigners, yet maintain

the war a long time, and guard against domestic attempts upon his person? they had seen him, when he had not ten cities in his party, and with only a handful of men, make a stand against all the forces of the kingdom. I concluded with saying, that instead of giving the enemies of France the pleasure of seeing her waste and destroy herself, it was the general interest, to favour and support a prince, who appeared capable of restoring her to her former tranquillity, and of raising her to a new degree of splendour.

The abbé du Perron had no reply to make to these arguments: he was convinced of their force; and, as I had expected, knew well how to bring over the cardinal of Bourbon to his opinion, by adding to them all those which his own penetration suggested to him, and which he did not fail to adorn with all the persuasive charms of eloquence. The remainder of the year 1592, and the beginning of 1593, were employed by him and I in going backwards and forwards, and in conferences of this kind. As soon as a negociation was begun, we had more negociators than we wished.

It is certain, that Villeroy and Jeannin had a long time before presented the king with the scheme of a treaty, in the name of the league, by which they offered, upon certain conditions, to acknowledge him king. This piece is sufficiently curious to deserve an abstract should be given of it; the true spirit of the league discovered itself there plainly. The king's abjuration was at the head, as the first and principal condition. They required that in the space of three months he should make a public profession of the Catholic religion; that he should restore it in all those places from whence the superiority of the reformed had banished it; that he

should break off all alliance with the Huguenots; that they should have no share in the dignities, embassies, and employments of state of any kind whatever: in a word, that if their continuance in France were tolerated, it should be by an edict subject to revocation whenever it might be thought necessary. Many other articles seemed to be inserted only to persuade the people that the chiefs of the league, by treating with Henry, had nothing but the service of religion and the state in view. Such was the clause of naming to benefices, conformable to the canons; that of holding the states from six to six years; and many others.

These were all specious conditions, but they added (which was the most essential point for the authors of the project) that the king should acknowledge, authorize, and support the league with all his power: that he should leave a certain number of towns in their hands, without even putting a garrison into them; the meaning of which was, that he should reign under them: that he should distribute all the governments of France amongst such of his principal officers as they should name to him: that he should keep a sufficient number of troops to maintain the Roman Catholic religion there: that he should not dispose of the taxes, imposts, and other revenues of the crown; but they should all be applied to this use, according to a division proportioned to the quality and occasions of those governments: that all the garrisons which should be put in the fortresses of the kingdom should be paid in the same manner. The distribution of these governments was as follows: Provence was to be given to the duke of Nemours, Languedoc to the duke of Joyeuse, Bourbonnois and Marche to the duke of Elbœuf, Bretagne to the duke of Mer-

cœur, the two Vexins, with the title of governor, to d'Alincourt, part of Normandy to Villars, the Isle of France to the baron of Rosne, Orleanois and Berry to la Chastre, Picardy to the duke of Aumale, Champaigne to the duke of Guise, with the post of high steward, and all the dignities and benefices which his family had enjoyed.

The duke of Maïenne had, with reason, the largest share. To the government of Burgundy, which was allotted for him, were added those of the Lyonnois, Forêt, and Beaujolois; and in all these provinces they gave him a power that hardly left the king the shadow of any authority: the right of disposing, as he pleased, of governments, lord-lieutenancies, and other employments, not only in the army, but also in the finances, and courts of judicature; and what was still more, the nomination to ecclesiastical dignities and benefices: and to all these extraordinary advantages, they added the post of constable, or lieutenant-general of the crown. It was this only that seemed worthy of the duke of Maïenne's acceptance. They likewise kept in reserve four marshals' batons, and the league, at their own leisure, were to name the persons on whom they were to be bestowed;* besides very considerable pensions to the most distinguished amongst them. They carried their violence so far as to lay the king under an obligation of clearing the debts of some considerable persons of their party whom they should name, to the number of

* These four marshals' batons were given the following year to Rosne, la Châtre, Bois Dauphin, and Saint-Pol, each of whom will be mentioned hereafter. On this occasion there is a *bon mot* related of Chanvalon. "Sir," said he one day to the duke of Maienne, "you have made bastards, "which will be legitimated at your expense."

twenty. And, to tie up his hands completely, they added, that he should allow the league to choose certain foreign princes that were to accede to the treaty, and be guarantees for its execution: the pope's name only was expressed; doubtless, the blanks were to be filled up with the king of Spain amongst the rest. By this the views of the Spaniards were too plainly acknowledged. Charles V required nothing else than such a scheme when he said, that he had been falsely accused of hating a king of France, since, instead of one, he wished there had been twenty.

No person believed that the league, by treating with the king on conditions so injurious to him, could persuade themselves that he would submit to them. It was more than probable, therefore, that they did it in order to make his refusal give disgust to the lower orders of the people. The king likewise, far from treating these proposals as a serious matter, or answering them privately, as he would have done had he thought it possible to have come to any accommodation, sacrificed them immediately to the Protestants, who gave the paper all the epithets it deserved; it even disgusted the Catholics in the king's suit, for they finding that every thing there was badly arranged, that it was full of articles which, not being definite, would prove an inexhaustible source of difficulties, while there were others which it would be impossible to execute: they took no notice of what made the strongest impression upon them, which was, that by the distribution of favours and rewards, nothing remained for them.

The king, making no other use of these proposals than to attach those who served him more closely to his interests, gave a very short and cool answer to the

president Jeannin: his letter was dated from the camp before Caudebec.

Civil wars, especially those wherein religion has a share, give a freedom and boldness which on any other occasion would be very surprising. Jeannin, offended at the ridicule with which his project had been treated, answered in writing, which he addressed to the king himself, That he was greatly astonished at the tone used towards him: that if his project were well considered, it would be found that he had not yet stipulated for sufficient advantages for the league: that the only fear he had, when he drew it up was, that it would be disavowed, especially by the duke of Nemours, who, instead of a government, had already formed a principality for himself in the Lionnois, with the approbation of the king of Spain: and he had still more reason to believe the duke of Maïenne would be displeased at it, whose interests had been there too much neglected (certainly this moderation of Jeannin was truly admirable): that, in his opinion, he had shown the king his readiness to serve him, by not mentioning his giving the league any towns as a security for the performance of his word (as if those which were to be bestowed upon the governors did not answer the same purpose): that, to please the king, he had evaded the question, of making those governments hereditary. This indeed was true, but after the privileges he had invested them with, would it be difficult for them to seize this also?

Jeannin afterwards observed to the king, with great freedom, or rather an excess of insolence, that the Catholics having with justice taken arms against him, he ought not to make use of the words *crime*, and *abolition*, when speaking of them; for they were entitled to

treat with him upon the footing of an equal, because they did not look upon themselves as enemies subdued, nor him as king, while the cardinal of Bourbon, the only acknowledged king in France, was alive; nor even after his death could he claim that title, on account of his religion; therefore it was the body of the monarchy which treated with a foreign prince; that, for the same reason, the king's acceptation could not be called an edict of pacification, granted by a king to his subjects, but an amicable contract with a people, who freely chose a king after the reasons for refusing him were removed. All the other impertinences with which this letter was filled, do not deserve to be repeated. Jeannin concluded, by absolutely rejecting all assistance from messieurs de Bouillon, du Plessis, and the other Protestants, whom the king had mentioned in his letter, and declared he would have no intercourse with them.

III. While the king deliberated upon what resolution he should take, the States were held at Paris.* The hint of assembling them came from the prince of Parma; and it must be confessed, that by the methods he pursued there, in order to accomplish his designs, a resolution more dangerous for the king's cause could not have been taken. This general intended to have summoned them at Rheims, and reuniting all his endeavours to make himself master of the deliberations within,

* The States were ordered to meet the 25th of January, but they were not opened till the next day, in the Louvre, which was prepared for that purpose. All the speeches, acts, and ceremonies of this assembly, may be found in many of the historians; see particularly de Thou, book cv. Davila, b. xiii Memoirs of the League, vol. V. Villeroy, Mem. of State, vol. IV. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. Matthieu, vol. II. Chron. Novenn. for the year 1593, b. v. Satyre Menipée, &c.

while, with a superior army without, he retained the people in his party, and the nobility in their duty, he persuaded himself that he should obtain an election entirely agreeable to the king of Spain, and cause the elected monarch to be crowned immediately. This whole plan was the effect of deep policy:* quick despatch, great liberality, a well-chosen opportunity, and above all, an army capable of inspiring awe, these were indeed the true means of bringing affairs to an issue, and of excluding the king for ever from the throne: but the prince of Parma dying just as he was upon the point of executing these projects, they all expired with him, or were afterwards conducted neither with order, diligence, nor the other necessary means. It is true, that the count of Mansfield, who succeeded him, came at last with an army as far as Noyon; but at that time, the same submission was not made to Spain, as had been before hopes were entertained of seeing the king abjure Calvinism; and the count of Mansfield returned without having done any thing; besides, there was now an alteration in a point, which to the prince of Parma had always appeared of great consequence; this was, that instead of getting the States assembled at Rheims, the duke of Maïenne had prevailed upon the pope and the Spanish plenipotentiaries, Don Diego d'Ibarra, the duke of Feria,† Inigo de Mendoza, and count John Baptist de Taxis, to consent that they should be assembled at Paris. Each of these persons hoped, that in a city which was entirely in their interests, they might, by their alliances, their intrigues, and their presents, practise a

* See the duke of Parma's letter to the king of Spain on this subject. Chron. Novenn. b. iv. fol. 5.

† Laurent Saurès de Figueroa y Cordua, duke of Feria.

thousand artifices to engage all the suffrages for themselves; but when this great disorderly body was assembled, they found themselves crossed by so many and such different interests, that the Spaniards having only their own voices, like the rest, and destitute besides of the means of making them heard by force, found that they should meet with more obstacles than they had foreseen; and from that time they feared, they should draw no other advantage from all their intrigues and secret practices, than the embroiling affairs some time longer, till this complication of so many different views, and the impossibility of ever reconciling, would at length produce of themselves the effect of obliging them to obey the dictates of reason.

How, indeed, could they bring the pope into their measures, or rather his legates, who had each his particular design, the king of Spain, the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, the dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, Mercœur, and Guise; in short, the princes of the blood, who had also their different views,* of which they were no less tenacious? All these factions, as soon as the states were opened, reflecting that this was the last effort of the party, had recourse to a thousand stratagems, which destroyed each other; and, according to the notion of what is called deep policy, involving and concealing themselves under false measures to bring others to the purpose they desired, they added, to the great number of counsels already so perplexing, a flux and reflux of opinions, which formed a labyrinth where no person knew any longer where he was. No one declared his sentiments plainly at first, but seemed

* "The league was of this advantage to France," says le Grain, "that "every one was willing to command in it, and none to obey."

to speak only to hide his emulation, and to make his real designs be guessed at.

The Spaniards at this juncture regulated their conduct by their usual maxim, and the particular cast of their nation; or, perhaps, their design was to sound the inclinations of the French, to discover if they would bear willingly a foreign prince to reign over them. When they perceived that by this delay they were in danger of losing what they had been so long aiming at, they at last made the most reasonable proposition in their power, which was the marriage of the infanta with the cardinal of Bourbon.* All the French nobles, with the Guises at their head, waited only for this step of the Spaniards, and concurred in one common design, which was, to make use of this proposal to kindle between the king and cardinal all the hatred that could animate two declared rivals, and consequently between the king and the leaders of the con-

* Clara Eugenia of Austria, second daughter of Philip II of Spain. Catherine, the eldest, was married to the duke of Savoy, but not till after the cardinal of Placentia, legate, and cardinal de Pellevé had endeavoured, in vain, to bring France under subjection to Spain, by the marriage of this infanta with prince Ernest of Austria, the eldest of the emperor's brothers. Villeroy's Memoirs of State impute to the court of Madrid, as an error, by which Spain lost the crown of France, their not suffering this infanta, the future queen, to come to France, unless the prince whom they destined for her husband was declared and acknowledged: but I doubt whether the arrival of this princes at Paris would have removed all obstacles. According to de Thou, the duke of Guise's party was so powerful, by the union of Spain and the clergy of France, that had not his own uncle, the duke of Maienne, secretly opposed him, and the king of Navarre declared very seasonably his resolution to embrace the Catholic religion, in all probability this prince would have been declared king. "The duke of "Guise," says father de Chalons, after Matthieu, History of France, vol. III. p. 257, "was praised for the moderation he showed on this occasion. "He gave no indications of his having flattered himself with such agreea- "ble hopes, nor showed any solicitude for so great a fortune."

trary party, the count of Soissons, the duke of Nevers, Longueville, and others. They suffered this proposition to be carried so far, as to have the articles drawn up and sent by Bellozanne to the cardinal; but the nobles afterwards uniting, knew how to put a stop to it, which they did with a design that may be easily penetrated into, in order that what these lords took away from the cardinal and the princes of the blood might fall into their own power, as the princes of the blood, by seeming to resign their hopes in favour of the cardinal, had an oblique view towards themselves, which showed them, that after him the crown would more easily revert to them, than if a foreigner had first possessed it. The Spaniards comprehended the meaning of all the intrigues of the princes of Lorrain, and, one may easily imagine, never forgave them.

This common interest of the nobles, which united them against Spain, and the princes of the blood, became afterwards divided into as many branches as there were persons; each one thought himself worthy of the diadem; malice and jealousy next appeared amongst them, and they at last disputed the crown for the sole pleasure of snatching it from each other: this was the consolation of those who saw themselves excluded. One of the party was for one person only, and consoled himself for his own disappointment, by endeavouring to render useless the intrigues of the others: of this class was the clergy, which, without being able to name any person for the throne, used only their utmost efforts to hinder the king of Navarre from being elected; another endeavoured to supplant two, three, or more of the competitors; and from all these causes none was found capable of forming a party sufficiently superior to the

others, as to bear down all opposition. The people, although generally the slaves of prejudice to one particular candidate, were here, by the number of them, prevented from determining; and upon this occasion it happened as has been often experienced, that adopting the style of that sort of indifferent and neutral persons who are always to be found in public assemblies, an affair of this importance was turned into a mere show, and caused only laughter at the unhappy candidates who were rejected.

But these intrigues, this play of deception, could not last long; in such sort of debates, the first resolutions, and the first motions, are suggested by the passions. If by a concurrence of causes they are prevented from succeeding, reason, though it slowly appears in tumultuous assemblies, yet forces itself at last to be listened to, and after long opposition is followed through necessity. The first thing that was done on this occasion was by means of the parliament, which weighing deliberately the different proposals that were brought upon the carpet, either for a Spanish king, or one of Lorrain, found that it would be an everlasting reproach to them, to suffer a law so fundamental as the hereditary right of succession to be infringed, and began, without knowing what would be the consequence, with issuing an edict*

* The edict was passed the 28th of June. "This action," says Villeroy, vol. II. page 58, "was the more applauded by all good men, "as the danger "that attended it was the greater; it was certainly of much use, and I "must say, that the kingdom owed its safety to the courts." John Le Maitre, although made president of the parliament of the league by the duke of Maienne, the president Edward Molé, the counsellors William du-Vair, afterwards keeper of the seals, Stephen Fleury, Peter d'Amours, Lazarus Coqueley, &c. were the chief promoters of this edict: in consequence of it, the president Le Maitre, with the counsellors de Fleury and

which forbad the alienation of the crown from the royal family. This was far from being a new thought; there was not one whose mind had not suggested it to him, and who was not conscious of the injustice of acting contrary to it.

The claims of the royal family began to appear sacred to a thousand persons, who had never reflected on them a moment before. Spain, whose attempt was frustrated by this edict, might still ward off the blow, by uniting with the Lorrains, whom it equally struck at; but the more she thought she was entitled to depend upon their suffrages, the more irreconcileable was her enmity toward them, when she found they had betrayed her. They were never after reconciled to each other, and their constant misunderstanding insensibly paved the way for the victory of their common adversary.

To accomplish this, there remained but one step to be taken, which was prevented by the strong opposition of the clergy;* a stop therefore was put to the affair for some time: they resumed, as if for amusement,

d'Amours, were deputed that same day, to make remonstrances to the duke of Maienne, as lieutenant-general of the crown. The duke complained bitterly of this affront from the parliament; and the archbishop of Lyons, who was with him, having repeated the word *affront* in a passion, and treated the deputies with bad language, the president le Maitre silenced him with great authority and dignity. See vol. IX. of the Memoirs of the League. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. p. 635.

* All the memoirs of these times confirm the violent proceedings and outrageous behaviour of the cardinal de Placentia, legate, and of almost all the bishops of France, and curates of Paris and the Sorbonne: "*Debourbonnez-nous, Seigneur*," was the interpretation a preacher gave of these words of scripture, *Eripe me, Domine, de luto fœcis.* There is an infinite number of such circumstances, the malignity of which cannot surely be excused by zeal for religion. De Thou observes, that the clergy was the only one of the three estates which persisted in voting for the war.

some of their former worn out projects. Different hopes were again raised to be soon and effectually extinguished; for there was not one person who did not tacitly confess, that if the king abjured Calvinism, all contest would be at an end.* Every one voted for the engaging him to comply with this demand, and they applied themselves to it, not slightly as before, but from a more clear and distinct view of the true interest of the state: a view which from this moment became that of the parliament, and the whole people, and which met with no other opposition, than what some of the nobles, for their personal interest, were pleased to give it.

The dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, and Mercœur were the most difficult to be drawn into these measures, as was most natural, considering that they, of all others, had flattered themselves with hopes of the greatest advantages: but bad as their intentions were, they could not hinder a conference with the king from being proposed, and carried by a majority of voices in the states. It was, however, in their power to destroy or suspend the effect, and they did not fail to do so: for this purpose they used their utmost endeavours; they set their emissaries to work, took advantage of the king's ill success before Selles;† caused Mansfield to advance, who took Noyon; they gave all the force they were able to the pope's refusing to allow the cardinal de Gondy,‡ and

* It is clear at this time, that Henry IV was not only the lawful heir to the crown, which was never disputed, but also that in his person the three races of our kings were united. See a proof in a new work entitled, Genealogical histories of all the sovereign families, in the 22d genealogical table.

† The journey which Henry IV, took towards Tours, and the necessity to which he found himself reduced of raising the siege of the city of Selles in Berry, were then thought very considerable errors.

‡ Peter de Gondy, bishop of Paris.—John de Vivonne, marquis of Pisany.

the marquis de Pisany, whom the king had sent to him, to enter Rome, or any of his holiness's territories. Could they flatter themselves, that the irregularity of these proceedings would not be commented upon, after having so often protested, that in all their actions they had only the interest of religion in view, and that they were ready to submit to Henry as soon as he should quit what were called his erroneous opinions? No person was deceived; and although they prevented all the consequences which the conference held at Surêne, in the month of April,* might have produced, it was considered as the last effort of an expiring power. It appeared plainly, that if the king, after having consented that no Protestant deputy should appear at that conference, had not yet entirely complied, it was because the leaguers raised more difficulties about temporal, than the king did about spiritual matters. The people, especially, were disposed to do him justice, and the sweets of a truce, which was the only benefit resulting from this conference, drew them entirely into his interests. I shall now return more particularly to this prince.

Henry made Mante the place of his constant residence, where all his prudence was scarcely sufficient to keep together a party, composed of persons so opposite in their sentiments. He had been alarmed, at first, with the convention of the states, and with so much the

* In the latter end of April, and during part of the month of May. See the records, vol. 8889 of MSS. in the royal library. Villeroy's Mem. of State, vol. IV. Matthieu and Cayet, ibid. &c. The archbishop of Bourges, who pleaded the king's cause, maintained that obedience is due to pagan princes, and supported this assertion by the authority of St. Paul, the privileges of the Gallic church, and by many other unanswerable proofs. Weak as the arguments alleged by the archbishop of Lyons to the contrary were, they carried their point in this conference.

more reason, as the first thought which suggested itself to his mind on that occasion, was, that an assembly, in appearance so august and respectable, would soon find a remedy for the disorders of the state. Under this apprehension, the king began to flatter the Catholics more than usual; and, as we have just seen, made some efforts to gain the pope, to the end that he might not extinguish in both parties the only hope that could prevent them from coming to an open rupture with him. It may be easily imagined, that this could not be done without awakening the discontent of the Huguenots; but the king by his wisdom was beforehand with them, and it appeared, that nothing was done but in consequence of that general council of the Protestants, of which we have already seen that the result has been to turn every thing into art and negociation. When their complaints grew too loud, and the king found reason to fear that they would carry things to extremity against him, he knew how to appease them by some new military expedition, which he likewise engaged in, to convince the people still more, that a prince, who, by his kind and gracious behaviour, appeared so deserving of their love, was, by his valour and abilities in war, no less worthy of their obedience.

As soon as he was informed of the little union that reigned in the states, the confusion and opposition which every word gave rise to, he looked upon this assembly as the happy means by which his designs would be accomplished, and all his perplexity now was how to regulate his conduct with the great number of mediators who meddled in his affairs, as soon as it was proposed in the states to treat with him. This prince would at that time have met with no obstacle to retard

his gaining possession of the crown, if he had appeared willing to satisfy the excessive demands which the nobles and other members of the league began to make him; but he was resolved that posterity should never reproach him with having owed the royal dignity to his meanness in submitting to the rapaciousness and caprice of his subjects. That he was thus able to resist his natural inclination and ardour to ascend the throne, was a convincing proof of his being worthy of it.

I ought here to do justice to some of them (the number indeed is not very great;) I am well assured that messieurs de Belliévre,* de Belin, and Zamet, had no view to their own interests in those applications which they made to the king. Some others there might be who behaved in the same manner, but of them I cannot speak with any certainty. As to the rest, I shall content myself with naming the principal agents deputed to the king, as well by the league and the states, as by the clergy and French nobility: I shall not repeat names already mentioned, but add to them only the cardinal de Gondy, the marshals d'Aumont and de Bouillon, the admiral de Biron, messieurs d'O, de Vitry, de Lux, du Plessis, La Verriere, de Fleury, and the abbé de Chesy. A great many others remained undistinguished in this crowd, although there was not one amongst them, who was not persuaded in his own mind, that he should be one day mentioned in history, as the person who had brought affairs to a conclusion. I once repeated to the king, the names of above a hundred of these persons. For the rest, it would make a very fine figure here, if one could for a moment lay open and display the hearts

* Pomponne de Belliévre.—Francis de Foudoas d'Averton.—Sebastian Zamet.

of these ardent counsellors: vanity, the desire of favour, self-interest, vile artifice, jealousy, knavery, and treachery, would all be seen there.

There were some, who till the last moment did not quit their disguise, by which they abused the privilege of conferring with the king; in order to betray him more securely, and to spread snares for him, which any other could not have escaped. It is with regret that I name Villeroy* and Jeannin here; but the fact is too well known, and the confusion they were afterwards in, when the king publicly reproached them with it at Fon-

* In the first volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of State, which consists only of a justification of this secretary's conduct, he candidly confesses that he would never have been prevailed upon to engage in the party of Henry IV, if he had not beforehand taken all the necessary measures for the security of the Catholic religion. He confesses also, with the same sincerity, his connections with the league and Spain, and the political principle which he had espoused, that in making peace, it was most advantageous for the king to separate him from the interest of England, and unite him with Spain. With regard to other accusations, he defends himself with great force: he protests, that he never received any money from Spain; and whatever arguments he offered, either in the states or any other councils, were sincerely meant for the king's advantage, and to forward the peace. See the note upon this subject some pages above, and what is said in the preface to this work. As to the oath taken by the league, which the duke of Sully here mentions, and which is the heaviest article against Villeroy, he is fully justified in Matthieu, vol. II. p. 153, and following, Chron. Novenn. book v. fol. 229, and some other historians, so that it must be confessed, this is an error in our Memoirs. According to these historians, Villeroy had not only no part in this oath, but was also absolutely ignorant of it, till Henry IV showed him the instrument at Fontainbleau, and charged him to remonstrate with the duke of Maienne, on the baseness of such a proceeding; Villeroy was even at that time, by the king's command, honestly endeavouring to detach the duke from the league. But it is still more certain that Villeroy reproaching the duke of Maienne with this criminal design, the latter answered him in these words: "I would neither tell you "nor the president Jeannin of this oath, because I promised the Spaniards "and the league to the contrary, and was not ignorant that you would "never be brought to approve of such a remedy." Matthieu, p. 155.

tainbleau, is a full conviction of it, as well as of the interested conduct Villeroy afterwards observed. Two days only before the king's abjuration, these two gentlemen procured a secret assembly to be held, composed of the pope's and the king of Spain's ministers, and the chief partisans of the league, either in person, or by proxy, for the dukes of Nemours and Mercœur, then absent: in this assembly, the legate made them all swear upon the cross, the evangelists, and even the host to maintain the league, till they saw upon the throne of France a king agreeable to Spain; and, above all, never to acknowledge the king of Navarre for such, though he should add to the claim his birth gave him, that of a sincere abjuration. This very pious and charitable oath, signed by the whole assembly, was inclosed in a packet, and sent to Rome. It was from a letter wrote by the cardinal of Placentia to some members of the parliament, the bearer of which was taken up at Lyons by the king's soldiers, that we came to the knowledge of it. In this manner did they sport with fidelity, virtue, and religion. This circumstance, though anticipated, seems to me not improperly mentioned here.

Amongst the crowd of negociators and counsellors there were many who imagined they could deceive the king, while, in reality, they deceived themselves. The king suffered them to remain in this opinion, not to persuade these schemers, but the people, that he might be easily brought to the point they wished. This I had from the king himself. I remember one night, which was, I believe, on the 15th of February, 1593, when all the courtiers had quitted his apartment, he sent Feret, his secretary, to bring me to him, who introduced me into his chamber, where I found him in bed. He owned

to me, that he was under a necessity of using this precaution whenever he had an inclination to converse with me, that he might not give disgust to the Catholics, and the Protestants likewise, who hated me still more, perhaps, through jealousy, than the former did through a natural aversion. After complaining of this restraint in very flattering terms for me, he talked to me of those affairs which were at present under consideration, and of the intrigues of the courtiers to obtain each separately the honour of the decision. I had said before, and it had been repeated to the king, that I was afraid his easy disposition would make him give up more than he ought to do; but the manner in which this prince represented to me the state of affairs, and portrayed the different characters of all the pretenders to his favour, convinced me I had been deceived. If I was surprised at that justness of penetration with which he immediately discerned truth amidst the shades that obscured it, I was not less charmed, when, submitting his ideas to mine, he insisted upon my prescribing to him the manner in which he should finish an affair which, to confess the truth, was not without danger till the last moment. It was in vain that I endeavoured to excuse myself from accepting this honour; all I could obtain was a delay of three days to take my resolution: it was during this conversation that the king first mentioned to me his design of entrusting his finances to my care.

After three days deep reflection, I waited upon the king with the same secrecy as before. I did not approve of any of those schemes which had been recommended to him, and which differed only in the proportion of the rewards which were to be granted to the

members of the league, and other interested persons. My opinion was, that matters were not yet ripe for a conclusion, which I supported with the following reasons: That the king was freed from the only fear which could induce him to put a precipitate end to the present negociations, by which I meant the fear that all those competitors for royalty might unite resolutely in favour of one particular person, because the misunderstanding which had already risen amongst the princes, the nobles, and the Spanish ministers, gaining strength every day, we might expect to see them soon destroy each others pretensions; from whence it must necessarily happen, that those who were disinterested, and whose intentions were upright, would bind themselves more closely to the king's party, an effect already indisputable, with regard to those cities of France which were at too great a distance from the league, and the cabal, to be influenced by the eagerness and warmth which actuated them: That the heads of the league themselves, through hatred, jealousy, or even a consideration of their own interest, would, one after the other, throw themselves into the king's party: That the bare hopes alone which this prince would suffer them to entertain, would give him beforehand most of those advantages he could gain from the accomplishment of them, without hazarding any thing: That the dangers of a too precipitate accomplishment were, at first, an open desertion of the Protestants, (who were not yet sufficiently prepared for this change,) which might produce the most fatal consequences, since the king, not being yet perfectly secure of all the Catholics to oppose them, would remain at the mercy of both parties; and, secondly, the necessity he laid himself under, by throw-

ing himself into the arms of the Catholics, of granting all their demands, however exorbitant they might be; which, both for the present and the future, was of dangerous consequence: That it was necessary to allow these schemers, and all the chiefs of the league, time to give a distinct form to their demands, by which they would perceive, that they were encroaching upon each other, and they would be obliged voluntarily to reduce their extravagant pretensions, to agree that by setting too high a value upon slight services they would put it out of the king's power to satisfy them, and at length be content to seek their own interest in the general interest of the state. I told the king, that he would find the first who took this step, would be those who, having only been influenced by the foreign powers to demand rewards which they were perhaps desirous of sharing with them, would begin to be sensible of the injustice of their proceedings in proportion as their hatred of those foreigners increased: and that those very foreigners, finding the king so ready to comply with the demands that were made upon him, would prevail upon others to ask for what they did not believe they could obtain for themselves.

I showed the king, that whatever change might happen in his affairs, it could not be so sudden, but he would have it in his power to prevent it, since a few words would be sufficient for that purpose, while, by temporizing, he would discover all their designs; and secretly breaking those connexions between them, all that remained to put an absolute end to the treaty, would be to bestow rewards upon those who had a right to demand them. To bring affairs happily to this end, I saw nothing better to be done, than for the king to

persist in that conduct he had hitherto observed: to receive every one kindly, promise little, seem desirous of bringing matters to a conclusion, ascribe always the fault of delays to obstacles, and earnestly endeavour to remove them. This, in my opinion, is the manner in which one generally ought to act in political affairs which are a little perplexed. It is well known that the difference between precipitation and diligence is, that this last, as much a foe to inaction and sloth as the other, engages in nothing without having first consulted judgment upon it; yet in the practice they are almost always confounded.

In these arguments which I made use of to the king, his supposed conversion was always the foundation I built upon; and his majesty, by contradicting none of them, gave me to understand, that he would not be stopped by that formality. I added only one thing more, which was, that he should not suffer this negociation to degenerate into mere debates, as his adversaries did, but join some military expedition to it. Having many other reasons to add, I offered to deliver them to him in writing: but his majesty replied, that there was no occasion for it; that he believed he comprehended all I could have to say to him; and that when he had more leisure, he would discourse with me upon a system by which, it seemed to him, that, after having united himself to the Catholics, it would not be impossible to reconcile even them to the Protestants.

That this resolution might be fully executed, the king at his return to Mante, after the breaking off the conference at Surêne, caused others wholly upon the subject of religion* to be held between the Catholic priests,

* At La Villette, at Pontoise, at Mante, and elsewhere.

and the Protestant clergy, at which he was generally present; and, on the other hand, made preparations for opening the campaign, in the month of April, by some important enterprise, rather indeed to keep up his reputation with the people, than with a design to continue the war in earnest, the necessary funds for which he was completely in want of. This intended enterprise was the siege of Dreux, for which the king borrowed a large sum of money from the inhabitants of Mante, and leaving that city about the beginning of April, passed the Eure at Serissy, while I assembled and brought up the artillery.

The king ordered the admiral de Biron* to invest the place, and he soon made himself master of the suburbs, and reduced the town to such extremity, that it was taken after a very slight resistance; there was, however, a large tower, called La Grise, which still held out; and the king despairing of reducing it by means of his cannon, resolved to undermine it, on the assurances which I and four English and Scotch miners gave him of succeeding; having, therefore, made a lodgment at the foot of this tower, by means of a shed formed of large timbers, which sheltered the workmen from the immense stones that were thrown from the walls above, and the miners being furnished with all the necessary tools, and assisted by about thirty pioneers, who worked by turns, four at a time, they applied themselves with so much assiduity, that the first day they had made an excavation in the tower, five feet in height, three in breadth, and four in depth; the duke de Montpensier, being desirous to see the work,

* Charles de Gontaut, son to the marshal, to whom the king gave the title of admiral.

was wounded in the face and neck by a musket shot. The following days their progress was not so great from the confined space in which they had to work; however, at the end of six days, they had advanced about eight or nine feet in a direct line under the tower; I now ordered them to make two chambers, one to the right, and the other to the left, six feet deep, and a little wider at bottom than top, in each of which I placed from three to four hundred weight of the finest gunpowder I could procure: into the midst of these, I laid two tubes made of dried hide, filled with powder well beaten together, uniting their ends on the outside of the excavation, which I next ordered to be closed up with stones and plaster; all this being done, a long train of powder was laid communicating with the united ends of the two tubes, and after every person was withdrawn, this was fired, and it soon communicated to the interior; for about ten minutes no effect was produced, except a great smoke, and a hollow sound: this gave occasion to my secret enemies to exult; they all cried out, There's Rosny's mine! there's Rosny's mine! nor could the king refrain from saying, "His intentions are "good, but he is so foolish, that he would have every "thing yield to his imaginations." If I was enraged at all this, I soon had my revenge, for just as they were turning away, a thick cloud of smoke arose from the tower, which was immediately after burst asunder from the base to the summit, and one-half tumbled down, bringing with it men, women, and children, who were crushed to pieces in the ruins; the other half remained standing; in the different stories of which, and in the embrasures of the windows, were seen men, women, and children, shrieking, and stretching forth their hands

to implore our pity: unfortunately the tumult and noise was so great at the moment, that nothing could be heard, and the soldiers began to fire upon these miserable victims, of which they shot six or seven, and the rest would have shared the same fate, had not the king ordered them to desist; he then sent a party of his guards to assist them to descend, and when they were brought to him he gave each of them a crown, with liberty to go wherever they chose. There was some dispute about the governorship of the town, which I did not think would be refused me, not only from having been one of the principal promoters of the siege, and the reduction of the tower, but also from its adjoining my estates; but the zealous Catholics, according to custom, opposed this; and M. d'O gained it, to the great regret of the king, who afterwards apologised to me, in the following terms: "My friend, I was ex-"tremely sorry that I could not grant you the govern-"ment of Dreux, for you deserved it more than any "other person, on account of your great services during "the siege; but you see how these people thwart me in "all my actions, and even will not allow of my soliciting "any thing from them; they do not hesitate to tell "me, nay even to threaten, that they will abandon me, "and join the enemies of the state and myself if I "do not change my religion. You know the proposi-"tions made by Villeroy on the part of the duke of "Maïenne, by which they agree to acknowledge me "king: but I would die rather than accept them, from "the injury the state, and all my old and faithful ser-"vants would thereby suffer. If I be obliged to grant "any favour, in order to give peace to France, and free "myself from the tyranny of these people who thus "torment me, believe me, no one shall suffer by it but

"myself; and rest assured also, that should I once be "king and absolute master, I will reward and honour "those who, like you, have served well and usefully: be "patient, therefore, as I am, and continue to act as you "have hitherto done."

IV. The king stopped only to perform a few more such little expeditions, and returned immediately to Mante, to resume his conferences. This alternate succession of war, and debates, lasted all the time that the states continued to be held, and even till the day that the king abjured the Protestant religion. His intention of changing his religion now became daily more certain: many causes urged him to adopt this resolution, the principal of which (not to mention his conscience, of which he alone could be the true judge) were his grief for the miseries to which the people would still be exposed; his dread of the Catholics about his person; the powerful and subtle theological arguments of M. du Perron, added to his sweet and agreeable conversation; the artful connivance of some of the ministers, and Huguenots in the cabinet, who were willing to profit of the times at any rate; the faithless ambition of many of the most powerful and distinguished amongst the Protestants, at the mercy of whom he dreaded falling, should the Catholics resolve to abandon him; the contempt which he had conceived against some of the zealous Catholics (and particularly M. d'O), on account of the insolent language they had used towards him: his desire of getting rid of them, and of one day making them suffer for their temerity: his dread lest the states, still sitting at Paris, might elect the cardinal of Bourbon king, and marry him to the infanta of Spain: finally, the fatigue, and troubles he

had endured from his youth, the hope of enjoying a life of ease and tranquillity for the future, added to the persuasions of some of his most faithful servants, among whom may be also reckoned his mistress,* the one by tears and supplications, the other by remonstrances; all these circumstances, I say, fixed him in his resolution of embracing the Catholic religion.†

While these things were under consideration, a great number of the larger towns, and Paris in particular, which were in the party of the league, being no longer able to endure the inconveniences and privations which the confusion of the times had occasioned (all commerce, internal as well as external being at a stand, on account of the prohibitions against trading with the

* The marchioness de Monceaux, who, L'Aubigné says, acted this part, in the hope of becoming queen herself, if Henry should be declared king. Vol. III. book iii. chap. 22.

† The passage above is given according to the original Memoirs; for whenever religion is the subject, the modern compiler never fails to pervert the original, and introduce his own opinions rather than the duke of Sully's: it is evident from what is said in the text that Sully was by no means convinced that the king abjured the Protestant religion from conscientious motives; yet, as the passage has hitherto stood, the very reverse is the case: there the duke is made to say, "I should betray the cause of truth, if I suffered it to be even suspected, that policy, the threats of the Catholics, the fatigue of labour, the desire of rest, and of freeing himself from the tyranny of foreigners, or even the good of the people, though highly laudable in itself, had entirely influenced the king's last resolution. As far as I am able to judge of the heart of this prince, which I believe I know better than any other person, it was indeed these considerations which first hinted to him the necessity of his conversion; and I confess that I myself suggested no others to him, fully persuaded, as I have always been, although a Calvinist, from what I have gathered from the most learned of the Protestant clergy, that God is no less honoured in the Catholic than in the Protestant church. But at length the king was fully convinced that the Catholic faith was the securest. That native candour and sincerity which I always observed in this prince, persuades me, that he would not have been able, during all the remainder of his life, to carry on such a fallacy."—Edit.

places in the king's interest), disturbances broke out amongst the people, who at last compelled their leaders to send a deputation to the king to request liberty to trade: M. de Belin was accordingly appointed for this purpose, and came to the king when he was either at Mante or Vernon; but, notwithstanding all his arguments, the whole council opposed his request. There was not a Protestant there, who appeared willing that he should grant it; and what is still more surprising, it met with equal opposition from the Catholics, without their being able to assign a lawful, or even a plausible reason, for such a conduct. All these persons were perplexed in their debates, and perceived plainly that their opinion would signify nothing, yet could not prevail upon themselves to alter it. The king looking at me that moment, "Monsier de Rosny," said he "what "makes you so thoughtful? Will not you speak your "mind absolutely any more than the others?" I then began, and was not afraid to declare myself against all those who had voted, by maintaining, that it was necessary not to hesitate a moment, but to endeavour to gain the affections of the people by kind treatment, as experience had proved that harsh measures were productive of no good consequences whatever: I therefore advised the king to grant them not only the liberty of trade which they requested, but also a general truce, if, as the count de Belin seemed to hint, they should desire it; to these I added many other reasons, but they only excited against me the hatred or contempt of most of the council, to whose decision the king was obliged to yield, and the count de Belin returned without being able to gain any thing.

Henry, reflecting upon this refusal, and judging that there wanted but little more of the same nature to alienate the people's affections from him, without a possibility of regaining them, and to induce them to go over to the party of his enemies, he resolved to defer his abjuration no longer. He was now convinced that there was no probability of his subduing the reluctance of several of the Protestants, or of ever obtaining their free consent to this proceeding;* but that it was necessary to act independently of them, and hazard some murmurs, which would end in nothing. As for the Catholics of his party, the king endeavoured only to remove their fears that, looking upon them as persons of whom he was already secure, he would apply himself wholly to the gaining the rest, by bestowing all rewards upon them. He therefore at last declared publicly, that on the 20th of July he would perform his abjuration, and named the church of St. Denis for this ceremony.

This declaration threw the league into confusion, and filled the hearts of the people, and the Catholics of the royal party with joy. The Protestants, although they had expected it, discovered their discontent by signs, and low murmurs, and did for form's sake all that such a juncture required of them; but they did not go beyond the bounds of obedience. All the ecclesiastics, with du Perron, intoxicated with his triumph, at their head, flocked together; every one was desirous of a share in this work. Du Perron, for whom I had obtained the

* Henry IV. was always sensible that his abjuration would expose him to great dangers, which made him write in this manner to mademoiselle d'Estrées: "On Sunday I shall take a dangerous leap. While I am writing to you, I have a hundred troublesome people about me, which makes me detest St. Denis as much as you do Mante," &c. See the new edition of Henry the Great's Letters.

bishopric of Evreux, though he could not show his gratitude for it in a better manner, than by exercising his function of converter upon me. He accosted me with the air of a conqueror, and proposed to me to be present at a ceremony, where he flattered himself he should shine with such powers of reasoning as would dissipate the profoundest darkness. "Sir," I replied, "all I have to do by being present at your disputes, is to "examine which side produces the strongest and most "effectual arguments. The state of affairs, your num- "ber and your riches, require that yours should prevail." In effect they did. There was a numerous court at St. Denis, and all was conducted with great pomp and splendour. I may be excused from dwelling upon the description of this ceremony here, since the Catholic historians* have been so prolix upon the subject.

I did not imagine I could be of any use at this time; therefore kept myself retired as one who had no interest in the show that was preparing, when I was visited by du Perron, whom the cardinal of Bourbon had sent to me, to decide a dispute that had arisen on occasion of the terms in which the king's profession of faith should be conceived. The Catholic priests and doctors loaded it with all the trifles their heads were filled with, and were going to make it a ridiculous, instead of a grave and solemn composition. The Protestant ministers, and the king himself, disapproved of the puerilities and trifles with which they had stuffed this instrument, and it occasioned debates which had like to have thrown every thing again

* See, besides the abovementioned historians, Mezerai, and the volume of MS. marked 8935, in the king's library, where may be found likewise the letter written to his holiness by the king, the commission given to M. du Perron, when he went to Rome to make a tender of obedience to the pope, and the king's declaration of the motives on which he was converted, &c.

into confusion.* I went immediately with du Perron to the cardinal of Bourbon, with whom it was agreed, that none of those articles of faith which were controverted by the two churches, should be omitted, but that all the rest should be suppressed as useless. The parties approved of this regulation, and the instrument† was drawn up in such a manner, that the king there acknowledged all the Roman tenets upon the Holy Scripture, the church, the number and ceremonies of the sacraments, the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, the doctrine of justification, the invocation of saints, the worship of relics and images, purgatory, indulgences, and the supremacy and power of the pope,‡ after which the satisfaction was general.§

* "There is no necessity to mention a requiem," said Henry IV, "I am not dead yet."

† See the original of it in the old Memoirs. Du Plessis Mornay, and Mezeray after him, reproached the king and the Catholics, apparently without any cause, that this first profession which they suppressed, was nevertheless the same that was sent to the pope, "as if the king had composed, written, and signed it with his own hand, but in reality counterfeited by monsieur Lomenie." These are his own words, book i. p. 198. book ii. p. 207.

‡ Another act of equal validity, by which Henry IV acknowledged the pope's authority, is the declaration which he made after his conversion, that it was necessity and the confusion of affairs which obliged him to receive absolution from the prelates of France, rather than from those of the holy father. This declaration is recorded in the third volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of State, p. 61.

§ It was Renauld, or Beaune de Samblançai, archbishop of Bourges, who received the king's abjuration; the cardinal of Bourbon, who was not a priest, and nine other bishops, assisted at the ceremony. Henry IV entering the chapel of St. Denis, the archbishop said to him, "Who are you?" Henry replied, "I am the king." "What is your request?" said the archbishop. "To be received," said the king, "into the pale of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church." "Do you desire it?" added the prelate. "Yes, I do desire it," replied the king. Then kneeling, he said, "I protest and swear in the presence of Almighty God, to live and

die in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion; to protect and defend it against all its enemies, at the hazard of my blood and life, renouncing all heresies contrary to this Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church." He afterwards put this same confession in writing, into the hands of the archbishop, who presented him his ring to kiss, giving him absolution with a loud voice, during which *Te Deum* was sung, &c. See a particular account of the ceremony in the historians, Cayet, book v. p. 222, and following. Matthieu, &c.

BOOK VI.

1593 to 1594.

I. Conduct of Henry with regard to the Pope, Spain, the League, and the Huguenots, after his abjuration. Another truce. Artifices of Spain; attempts of the Jesuits upon the life of Henry. Rosny begins a negociation with admiral Villars, to disengage him from the party of the league. Fescamp surprised by a very extraordinary method; a dispute raised about this fort; several cities surrender to Henry. Rosny's journey to Rouen: a detail of his negociations with Villars; the character of that governor.—II. Rosny is employed by Henry to effect a reconciliation betwixt the duke of Montpensier and the count of Soissons, and to break off the marriage of the latter with the princess Catherine. He visits the dutchess of Aumale at Anet. A farther account of his negociations with Villars, Médavy, and others; the treaty with Villars, after many obstacles, concluded.—III. Henry is received into Paris; several instances of his generosity and clemency. An accommodation with Villeroy. Rosny's third journey to Rouen. Villars sends away the deputies of Spain and the League. The ceremony with which Rouen was surrendered to the king. The conditions upon which Rosny consents to receive any gratuities. Villars comes to court. An instance of Henry's generosity. Lyons submits to the king, notwithstanding the endeavours of the duke de Nemours to the contrary. Poitiers, Cambrai, and other cities do the same.—IV. The taking of La-Capelle by the Spaniards. The siege of Laon. Rosny is obliged to return to Paris; his conversation with the cardinal of Bourbon: disputes between the University of Paris and the Jesuits: he returns to the siege of Laon; a farther account of the siege. Henry's indefatigable labours there; a great convoy of the Spaniards seized by Byron; Rosny is present at this rencounter; the king displeased with Byron. The Spaniards endeavour in vain to throw supplies into Laon.

I. THE ceremony of the king's abjuration was followed by a deputation of the duke of Nevers to Rome, who, together with the cardinal de Gondy, and the marquis de Pisany, were to offer the pope the submissions

usual in such cases.* Although this change was a mortal blow for the league, yet the Spaniards and the duke of Maienne still held out; they endeavoured to persuade their partizans that there still remained resources capable of making it ineffectual; but they spoke at that time contrary to their own opinion, and this feigned confidence was only designed to obtain greater advantages from the king before he was securely fixed on the throne.

This is not a mere conjecture, at least with regard to the king of Spain, since it is certain that he ordered Taxis and Stuniga to offer the king forces sufficient to reduce all the chiefs of the league and the Protestant party, without annexing any other condition to this offer, than a strict alliance between the two crowns, and an agreement, that the king should give no assistance to the rebels in the Low Countries. Philip II judged of Henry by himself, and considered his conversion only as the principal of a new political system, which made it necessary for him to break through his former engage-

* Clement VIII refused to acknowledge and receive the duke of Nevers as ambassador, and would oblige the French bishops to go and present themselves to the grand inquisitor, pretending that they had no power to absolve the king. M. De Thou blames, with as much reason, the pope's inflexibility upon this occasion, as he extols the courage, prudence, and the whole conduct of the duke of Nevers, book 108. See tom. II. Mem. de Nevers, MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, and in the historians mentioned above, the particulars of the embassies of Nevers and Luxembourg, and the negociations of father Seraphin Olivari, de la Clielle, of the abbots du-Perron and d'Ossat with the holy father. The pope still deferred a long time an absolution which he had a great desire to grant, and received very ill La-Chielle, who presented to him the letters of Henry IV. Father Seraphin, who was present, and plainly perceived that the pope's anger was only feigned, said to him merrily, "Holy Father, if the devil himself were to come, and ask an audience of you, and you had any hopes of converting him, you could not in conscience deny him it." This speech drew a smile from his holiness.

ments. It may not perhaps be useless to mention here an observation I have made on the conduct of Spain, which is, that although before and after the death of Catherine de Medicis she had put a thousand different springs in motion, changed parties and interests as she thought most expedient to draw advantages from the divisions that shook this kingdom, yet the Protestant party was the only one to which she never made any application: she has often publicly protested, that she never had the least intention to gain or suffer their alliance. It is by an effect of this very antipathy that the Spaniards have constantly refused the reformed religion admission into their states: an antipathy which cannot be attributed to any thing but the republican principles the Protestants are accused of having imbibed. The king being fully convinced, that to stifle the seeds of schism in his kingdom, it was necessary to give none of the different factions occasion to boast that his power was at their disposal; and that to reduce all parties, he must be partial to none; he therefore steadily rejected these offers from Spain, and those which the duke of Maïenne made him to the same purpose: but at that very time appeared willing to treat with any of the chiefs or cities of the league which would surrender, and to reward them in proportion to their readiness and services: and it was this prudent medium that he was resolved to persist in. Although he now professed the same religion as the league, yet his aversion to the spirit which actuated that party, and to the maxims by which they were governed, was not lessened; the very name only of the league was sufficient to kindle his anger. The Catholic leaguers supposing that his abjuration authorized them to abolish, in those cities which depended upon them,

the edicts that were favourable to the Huguenots, the king caused them to be restored; and though in some places the leaguers have obtained the consent even of the Huguenots themselves (determined to purchase peace at any price) for this purpose, yet the Protestant party murmuring at it, Henry cancelled all that had been done to that effect,* and showed that it was his design to keep the balance even.

The duke of Maïenne, finding that in this last scheme, which he had believed infallible, he was disappointed, as well as in the rest, placed all his future dependence upon his old friends the Parisians, and neglected no method by which he might awaken their mutinous disposition; but so far was he from succeeding in this attempt, that he could not hinder them from discovering their joy at what had just passed at Saint Dennis. They talked publicly of peace, and even in his presence; and he had the mortification to hear a proposal to send deputies to the king to demand a truce for six months, and they obliged him to give his consent to it. The truce for three months, which had been granted them at Surêne,† had only inspired them with an inclination for a longer one.

The king gave audience to the deputies in full council. The greatest number of those who composed it,

* The king, on the 12th of December this year, held an assembly of the Protestants at Mante, in which he publicly declared, that his changing his religion should make no alteration in the affairs of the Protestants. Mem. de la Ligue, tom. V. And the Calvinists having asked many things of him, he told them he could not comply with their requests, but that he would tolerate them. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 164.

† Or at Vilette, situated between Paris and St. Denis, as it is observed in the Memoirs of the League. It is dated the 31st of July, and was published the next day at Paris.

listening to nothing but their jealousy of the duke of Maïenne, who they feared as a man that had the means in his power of purchasing favour and rewards, were of opinion that no attention ought to be paid to this demand of the deputies, because the person who sent them persisted in his revolt against the king, even after his abjuration. Notwithstanding the justice of not confounding the duke of Maïenne with the Parisians, I saw this advice was likely to be followed, and it certainly might have produced some very bad consequence. I therefore insisted so strongly upon the advantage of letting the people, already recovered from their first terrors, taste the sweets of peace which would interest them still more in the king's favour, that this prince declared he would grant the truce they demanded of him, but for the months of August, September, and October, only.

The next day a prodigious concourse of the populace of Paris assembled at St. Denis. The king showed himself to the people, and assisted publicly at mass; wherever he turned his steps the crowd was so great, that it was sometimes impossible to pierce through it,* while every moment, a million of voices cried, *Long live the king!* Every one returned, charmed with the gracefulness of his person, his condescension, and that engaging manner which was natural to him: "God "bless him," said they with tears in their eyes, "and "grant that he may soon do the same in our church "of Notre Dame in Paris." I observed to the king

* "They are wild," said Henry, "to see a king." Etoile, ib. In a letter which he wrote to mademoiselle d'Estrèse, upon this or some other such occasion, he says, "A pleasant adventure happened to me at church; "an old woman 80 years of age, seized me by the head and kissed me; I "was not the first who laughed at it; to-morrow you shall sweeten my "mouth." Recuiel des Lettres d'Henry le Grand.

this disposition of the people with regard to him; tender and sensible as he was, he could not behold this spectacle without strong emotions.

The Spaniards now had recourse to their usual artifices. D'Entragues came to me one morning, and told me that a Spaniard had just arrived at St. Denis; charged with dispatches of great importance, from Mendoza, who had ordered him to make his applications directly to me, being the only person who had any knowledge of the proposals which he had a long time ago made to the king at Bearn, by Moreau, and the viscount de Chaux.* This Spaniard, whose name was Ordognès, or Nugnès, had been a domestic of d'Entragues, whose service he had quitted for that of Mendoza; and d'Entragues corresponded, by his means, with the Spanish ambassador to the league: this is what I learned of this man by the recital, whether true or false, that d'Entragues made me. I did not confide much in the Spanish emissary, and less in d'Entragues, whose turbulent disposition I was well acquainted with; I received him therefore coldly enough, for I did not doubt but this was all a Spanish stratagem: but d'Entragues seemed so much offended that I should suspect his sincerity, and added so many assurances of the veracity of this Nugnès, that I permitted him to bring him to me that evening. The king, whom I informed of d'Entragues's visit, had the same opinion of it that I had; however, he commanded me to hear what the envoy had to say.

D'Entragues did not fail to return at the time appointed, accompanied by the Spaniard, who after much vague conversation about the joy there was in the

* See before, p. 105.

court of Spain for the king's abjuration, and a great many protestations of kindness, which I had no reason to believe very sincere, at length told me, he was commissioned to propose a marriage between the king and the infanta* of Spain, with some other articles, which he declared he had been ordered to explain only to the king, to whom he intreated me to present him. Henry having consented to hear him, I told Nugnès, without any ceremony, that since he came from so suspected a place, he must purchase the honour of an audience from his majesty, by submitting to a few precautions against his person that would perhaps be a little mortifying. He thought nothing too hard: I therefore began to search him myself, and afterwards caused two of my valets de chambre to make a more rigid scrutiny about his person and clothes; one of them having been a tailor, acquitted himself of this task with great exactness. When he came into the king's apartment I made him kneel, and held both his hands betwixt mine. He added nothing to the proposals he had already made me, but talked of the alliance between the two crowns in terms so specious and lofty, that the king, who at first would hardly listen to him, could not refrain from approving of the Spaniard's proposal to send some person on whom he could rely, to inquire of Don Bernardin de Mendoza himself, if what he had just said could be depended on.

This deputation, which would have the appearance of a mystery, I could not approve of, and still less of the choice his majesty made of La Varenne for this occasion, a man remarkably vain.† The king, to whom I

* Clara Eugenia of Austria, second daughter of Philip II.

† We shall mention him again, in the sequel of these Memoirs: his name is William Fouquet, and he derives the title of La Varenne from the marqui-

discovered all my apprehensions, thought he should avoid any appearance of an engagement or negociation with Spain, by not giving la Varenne any commissions in writing, and making the regulation of some boundaries upon the frontiers of Spain the pretence of his journey. La Varenne had no sooner received orders to depart, than he boasted of his commission, assumed the ambassador, and represented himself as such to Mendoza, who, on his part, paid him greater honours than he had required. This produced the effect which the Spaniards designed it should: it was for some time believed in England and Germany, that Henry sought to gain the king of Spain's friendship, and to break off his alliance with the Protestant powers, which might

sate of la Varenne in Anjou, which he bought. His first employment was that of cook to the princess Catherine, and his chief excellency was in larding meat. If it be true, that this princess met him one day after his preferment, and said to him, "La Varenne, thou hast gained more by carrying my brother's poulets,* than by larding of mine," one may conclude, that the means by which he gained the king's favour were not very honourable. He was first made a cloak-bearer to this prince, afterwards counsellor of state, and comptroller-general of the post-office, and always lived in great familiarity with Henry IV, who ennobled him. La Varenne appointed a gentleman to attend his son: "What," said this prince to him, "if thou hadst given thy son to a gentleman, I should have understood what you would be at; but to give a gentleman to him, is what I cannot comprehend." They say likewise that la Varenne having obtained some favour of the king which the chancellor de Bellievre made some difficulty to grant him, la Varenne said to him, "Sir, don't have such a high opinion of yourself: I would have you to know, that if my master were twenty-five years younger, I would not change places with you." See d'Aubigné, Geneal. de Saint-Marthe, Mem. de M. le Duc d'Angoulème. Mem. de Du-Plessis, &c. Menagiana. Cayet, ibid. tom. V. p. 276, speaks of the embassy of la Varenne into Spain, in a manner quite different from our Memoirs.

* Porter les poulets, *in French, signifies to carry love-letters; the jest lies in the ambiguity of the word* poulet, *which signifies either a pullet or a girl.*

have produced an open rupture, if the king had not taken measures immediately to convince them of the contrary.

A short time after the above occurrences, the king went to Chalons sur Marne, to visit the fort of Gournay; and from thence to Brie-comte-robert, and Meulan; during his stay at the latter place, he received intelligence that the Jesuits, the Capuchins, and some other enthusiastic monks, were plotting with certain persons to take away his life;* and in fact, three days after, a gentleman† arrived from Lyons to inform his majesty, that it was certain a man had left that place with intention to assassinate him, as he had derived his information from a priest to whom the wretch had confessed himself; the figure, the countenance, and the dress of this assassin were so exactly described, that he was two days after seized, and being convicted of the crime, suffered the punishment it merited.‡ This attempt

* Cayet. Chron. Novenn. liv. 5. p. 280, speaks more positively of these conspiracies against the life of Henry IV. Marisot says, that a Flamand, called Avenius, came to St. Denis with a design to stab the king, but observing with what devotion he behaved at mass, he threw himself at his feet, and implored his pardon; but afterwards resuming his first intention, he was broke upon the wheel in the year 1593. Chap. 33.

† He was named Brancaleon; the plot was discovered to him by one father Seraphim Banchi. EDIT.

‡ The Jesuits were the principal instigators of this attempt against the life of Henry. The intended assassin was a boatman of Orleans, named Barriere; when he reached the neighbourhood of Paris, he learnt the king's abjuration, which completely disarmed him; but Varade, the rector of the jesuit college at Paris, and M. Aubray, curate of St. André-des-Arcs, encouraged him to execute his design, by persuading him he should perform a meritorious action. Varade even heard his confession, gave him absolution, and commanded one of his order to administer to him the sacrament. Barriere disclosed his accomplices, when he was broke upon the wheel. See Davila, b. iv. de Thou, b. cvii. n. 13. Matthieu, vol. II. p. 150.

gave great uneasiness to the king, and a short time after, he spoke of it to me in the following terms: "My "friend, is it not strange to see persons professing reli- "gion, so malignant as to be daily making attempts upon "my life? I was always told that by embracing the "Roman Catholic religion all these evil intentions "would be destroyed, and that M. de Maïenne and his "partisans would acknowledge me as soon as I should "take that step; but I begin to see that there is more of "ambition and avarice in their hearts, than religion and "justice."

The king's troubles were still further increased by the behaviour of the Catholics in his court; in whom his abjuration had wrought as little change, as it had done in those of the league. They bore with impatience his not breaking off all connexion with his old Protestant servants, and openly murmured if he but conversed with any of them, especially with me. The apprehension of my bringing him back to his former religion affected them much less than their suspicions that, in those conversations I had with the king, I should prevail upon him to rectify the abuses in the government, especially the confusion of the finances. Henry, who was not yet in a condition to assert his authority, so far complied with their caprices, as to avoid all private conversation with the Huguenots, resumed his conferences upon religion with the Catholics only, and continued them at Andresy and Milly.*

Daniel, vol. VII p. 199. On this subject the modern compiler of these Memoirs, wishing to exculpate the Jesuits, had foisted in his own opinions, which I have struck out, and restored the words of the original Memoirs.—Edit.

* And likewise, at Pontoise, and Fleury, a castle in Gatinois, belonging to Henry Clause, chief-justice in Eyre. The Roman, Catholics who

I took this opportunity to ask the king's permission to go to Bontin, where I had grain to sell to the value of five or six thousand crowns. He granted it, and told me, that at my return he might perhaps be able to form a more exact judgment of the state of his affairs, and that he would then talk farther with me. When I arrived at Bontin, whither my wife accompanied me, grain bore a very high price: all the great cities, taking advantage of the truce, hastened to fill their magazines, whatever might happen, and paid for what they bought with the money which the Spaniards had scattered throughout the kingdom. Spanish pistoles were then so common, that commerce was generally carried on in that money.

I had scarcely sold half my grain, when a letter the king wrote to me from Fontainbleau obliged me to return. He had, in my absence, opened three letters directed to me, from which he could draw no intelligence, because two of them, (one of which came from madam de Simiers,* sister to Vitry, and a great friend of admiral Villars, and the other from la Fond,) were written in ciphers, and all that the third contained, which came from a man named Desportes, of Verneuil, was, that he had something to communicate to me relating to the proposal I made him in my abbey of Saint Taurin d' Evreux. The king, rigidly watched by the Catholics, could only give me these letters, the contents of which I afterwards acquainted him with. Desportes was the

were there, were, according to M. de Thou, messieurs de Schomberg, de Villeroi, de Belin, de Revol, Jeannin, and de Thou himself, who gives us also to understand, that their discourses turned more upon politics than religion.

* Louisa de l'Hôpital-Vitry, wife to James Simiers, chief groom of the stole to the duke of Alençon.

agent employed by the baron de Medavy* to treat of an accommodation with him, and for the surrender of Verneuil. The letter from madam de Simiers, and that from La Fond, related to certain favourable circumstances which now presented themselves, to engage Villars in the king's interest. But affairs soon took another turn with regard to him; he was so affected by the loss of Fescamp,† that for this time he broke off all measures towards an accommodation. I was informed of this by letters from madam de Simiers and La Fond, in answer to mine, at the very moment when, by the king's command, I was preparing to go and confirm Villars in his good resolutions.

The manner in which Fescamp was surprised is so remarkable that it well deserves a particular recital here. When this fort was taken by Biron from the league, there was in the garrison that was turned out of it, a gentleman called Bois-rosé,‡ a man of sense and courage, who making an exact observation of the place he left, and having concerted his scheme, contrived to get two soldiers, whom he had bound to his interest, to be received into the new garrison which was put into Fescamp by the royalists. That side of the fort next the sea is a perpendicular rock, about six hundred feet high, the bottom of which, for about the height of twelve feet, is continually washed by the sea, except four or five days in the year, during the utmost recess

* Peter Rouxel, baron of Medavy, count of Grancey, lieutenant-general in Normandy, and counsellor of state, died in 1617. He was remarkable for an uncommon strength of body.

† A port and fortress in the county of Caux.

‡ ——— De Goustiminil, or Gousminil, lord of the manor of Bois-rosé. See Chron. Novenn. book v. p. 94.

of the sea, when, for the space of three or four hours, it leaves fifteen or twenty fathoms of dry sand at the foot of the rock. Bois-rosé, who found it impossible by any other way to surprise a garrison, who guarded with great care, a place lately taken, did not doubt of accomplishing his design, if he could enter by that side which was thought inaccessible; this he endeavoured to perform by the following contrivance.

He had agreed upon a signal with the two soldiers whom he had gained over, and one of them waited for it continually upon the top of the rock, where he posted himself during the whole time that it was low water. Bois-rosé, taking the opportunity of a very dark night, came, with fifty resolute men, chosen from amongst the sailors, in two large boats, to the foot of the rock. He had provided himself with a thick cable, equal in length to the height of the rock, and tying knots at equal distances, run short sticks through, to serve to support the men as they climbed. The soldier whom he had gained, having waited six months for the signal, no sooner perceived it, than he let down a cord from the top of the precipice, to which those below fastened the cable; by which means it was drawn up to the top, and secured in an opening in the battlement with a strong iron crow run through a staple made for that purpose. Bois-rosé giving the lead to two serjeants, whose courage he was well convinced of, ordered the fifty men to mount the ladder in the same manner, one after another, with their weapons tied round their bodies, himself bringing up the rear, to take away all hope of returning; which indeed soon became impossible, for before they had ascended half way, the sea rising more than six feet, carried off their boats, and set their cable

afloating. The neceesity of withdrawing from a difficult enterprise, is not always a security against fear, when the danger appears almost inevitable. If the mind represents to itself these fifty men, suspended between heaven and earth, in the midst of darkness, trusting their safety to a machine so insecure, that the least want of caution, the treachery of a mercenary soldier, or the slightest fear, might precipitate them into the abyss of the sea, or dash them against the rocks; add to this, the noise of the waves, the height of the rock, their weariness, and exhausted spirits, it will not appear surprising, that the boldest amongst them trembled, as in effect he who was foremost did. This serjeant telling the next man that he could mount no higher, and that his heart failed him, Bois-rosé, to whom this discourse passed from mouth to mouth, and who perceived the truth of it by their advancing no higher, crept over the bodies of those that were before him, advising each to keep firm, and got up to the foremost, whose spirits he at first endeavoured to animate; but finding that gentleness would not prevail, he obliged him to mount by pricking him in the back with his poniard; and, doubtless, if he had not obeyed him, he would have precipitated him into the sea. At length, with incredible labour and fatigue, the whole troop got to the top of the rock, a little before the break of day, and were introduced by the two soldiers into the castle, where they began to slaughter without mercy the centinels and the guard; sleep delivered up nearly the whole garrison an easy prey to the enemy, who killed all that resisted, and thus possessed themselves of the fort.

Bois-rosé immediately sent notice of this amazing success to admiral Villars, and thought the government

of the citadel he had so dearly bought was the least reward he might expect. However, he heard that Villars, or rather the commander de Grillon,* had a design to drive him out of it. Amidst the first transports of his rage for this injustice, he delivered the castle of Fescamp to the king, whose conversion he had just been informed of. Villars, at this news, broke off the negociation which he had permitted madam de Simiers and la Fond to carry on in his name, and sent forces to invest Fescam. Bois-rosé, finding himself too weak to make a long resistance, called the king to his aid, who instantly set forward for Dieppe, and came to St. Valery in Caux. When this hostility broke out, the three months truce was expired; but the king had been prevailed upon to prolong it for two or three months longer, upon the duke of Maïenne's representation, that it was necessary he should have more time to settle an affair of such importance as his treaty, and that of the league, with the king. He failed not to exclaim against this violation of the truce, and sent the count of Belin, governor of Paris, to the king, to complain of it. Belin came to St. Valery, acquitted himself of his commission, and demanded a farther prolongation of the truce for three months, which he said was no more than necessary for the duke of Maïenne to make known his last intentions at Rome and Madrid, whither he had sent cardinal de Joyeuse† and Montzepat for that purpose. The king, who perceived the duke only wanted to amuse him, rejected the count of Belin's proposals; and, without listening to any more complaints of the action,

* Thomas Berton, governor of Honfleur, and brother to Grillon.

† Francis, the second of the seven sons of William de Joyeuse.—Henry des Prés, sieur of Montpezat.

which his enemies had been the first cause of, marched directly to Fescamp; forced the troops of Villars to retire, and provided the fortress with every thing necessary for its security.

The king, on his return to Mante, was informed that the marquis de Vitry* was inclined to receive him into Meaux: to second the good intentions of this governor, he came to Lagny, where all things were so ordered, that he made his public entry into Meaux† on the first day of the year 1594. La Chatre‡ immediately followed this example, with the cities of Orleans and Bourges.

The truce being at an end, the king laid siege to Ferté-Milon.§ I wished to have taken this opportunity to finish the business that had carried me to Bontin, but his majesty commanded me to review some battalions of Swiss at Montereau.‖ I sent to madam de Rosny to meet me at that place, from whence I intended to carry her to Mante. She waited for me there to no purpose; for two days before that in which I was to review the Swiss, I received new dispatches from madam de Simiers and la Fond, which informed me, that the man (meaning Villars) was appeased, and that nothing hindered me from resuming the scheme that had been laid

* Lewis de l'Hopital, marquis of Vitry.

† The duke of Maienne upbraiding Vitry for having betrayed him, in delivering the city of Meaux into the king's hand, Vitry said to his messenger: "You press me too much: you will at last make me speak as becomes "a soldier. Suppose a thief had stolen a purse, and confided it to my care; "if afterwards, coming to the knowledge of the right owner, I should re-"store it him, and refuse to give it back to the thief who had entrust-"ed me with it, do you think I should commit a wicked and treasonable "action? I did nothing else when I delivered up the city of Meaux." Memoirs for the History of France, tom. II.

‡ Claude de la Chatre.

§ Between Meaux and Soissons.

‖ Montereau Faut-yonne, in Champaigne.

aside. This affair the king thought of such importance as not to admit of a moment's delay. The count de Chaligny* just then coming to the army with a passport for Paris, intreated the king to send a person whom he could depend upon, to conduct him to that city; and the king was willing that I should take advantage of this opportunity, which offered me both the means of procuring a more certain knowledge of the designs of the duke of Maïenne and the league, and of getting to Rouen secretly.

Accordingly, I accompanied the count de Chaligny to Paris, from whence, after having an interview with the duke of Maïenne, I went to Louviers, to the house of the sieur de St. Bonnet, about two leagues from Rouen: from this place I sent notice of my arrival to the persons who managed our interview: they came to fetch me the next evening, and introduced me into fort St. Catherine, where captain Boniface received and treated me very magnificently while we waited for Villars, who came at night, attended only by one servant, I likewise having none but my valet de chambre with me. We did not part till after a conversation that lasted two hours, which left me entirely satisfied with Villars's intentions. Our interview was conducted with the utmost secrecy; for, besides that the governors of the chief royalist cities in the neighbourhood of Rouen would not have failed, either through jealousy or self-interest, to cross the negociation, and perhaps have done something worse, as in effect they did, as soon as they had any suspicion of the affair, there were in this province a great number of forces as well foreigners as

* Henry de Lorrain, count de Chaligny, of the family of Moüy.

those belonging to the league, over whom Villars had no authority, and which might in a little time be joined by such considerable supplies as to make him repent of the measures he had engaged in.

I staid five days in Fort St. Catherine with the same privacy: during which time I had several conferences with Villars, and entered upon the principal conditions for an accommodation. Interest was not here the greatest difficulty to get over, he was less solicitous to gratify mercenary views, than to be convinced that the king, by treating with him, sought not only to gain the capital of a province, but to bind to his interests a man whom he knew to be equally willing and able to serve him. It has been already observed, what idea Villars had conceived of the king: as soon as my discourse had confirmed him in it, I considered the treaty to be in great forwardness; but I could not then go any farther, not having in writing the necessary powers for concluding the business.

To give a more perfect knowledge of the character of M. Villars: his whole conduct was influenced by one or the other of two qualities that predominated in him, or was produced by their concurrence: these two qualities were, courage and integrity; the first inspired that elevated generosity, that inborn, noble pride,* which in great souls is only a perception of their own worth, without the least mixture of mean vanity, or the intoxication of self-love; the second produces sincerity and truth, makes its owner incapable of artifice and surprise, and always ready to yield to reason and justice: he who unites these two qualities, has seldom any other

* M. de Thou, speaking of admiral de Villars, says, that he was of a harsh and insolent disposition, book ciii.

fault than being too quickly moved to sudden bursts of anger. Such was Villars; and what I have yet to say concerning him will justify the truth of this character: there was too great a conformity between his disposition and the king's, to suffer him to continue long in a state of enmity with him. The only difference between them was, that Henry, by often reflecting on the fatal effects of anger, by a habit acquired in a long course of misfortunes, by the necessity he was under of gaining friends, and lastly, by the native tenderness of his heart, converted his first violent sallies of rage into such* emotions as were wholly under the govern-

* Here is a piece of private history, extracted out of the Memoirs of the life of the president de Thou, which proves what the author says here concerning the character of Henry IV, and which has also some relation to what has been said upon the siege of Rouen. "One day when Grillon "came into the king's closet, to excuse himself upon his being reproached "that his going backwards and forwards, to treat with the admiral, had "afforded him an opportunity and the means of making that furious sally "which has been mentioned, he passed from excuses to disputes, then fell "into a passion and uttered blasphemies. The king, being exasperated "at this behaviour, commanded him to go out; but as Grillon was coming "back every moment from the door, and they perceiving that the king grew "pale with anger and impatience, they were afraid he would seize upon "somebody's sword and run the impudent fellow through. At last, being "come to himself, after Grillon went out, and turning towards the lords "who attended him, and who, with de Thou, had admired the patience with "which he bore this insolence, he said to them, 'Nature has formed me "passionate, but since I have been sensible of this fault, I have always en- "deavoured to guard against the dictates of so dangerous a passion; I "know by experience that it is a bad adviser, and am glad to have such "good witnesses of my moderation.' It is certain, that his constitution, "the fatigues he had endured, and the many vicissitudes of fortune to "which he had been subjected, had given him a firmness of soul, that was "proof against the efforts of rage, but not the allurements of pleasure. It was "remarked, that while Grillon was thus contesting with him, marshal Bi- "ron, who was then in the king's room, sitting upon a trunk, pretended to "be asleep; and as the dispute grew warmer, his sleep became more "sound; though Grillon came near him in order to abuse him, and cried

ment of his reason, and seldom appeared in his countenance or gesture, and still seldomer in his words.

II. The king was just come to Chartres,* which place he had chosen for the ceremony of his coronation,† when I joined him, to give him an account of my journey, and to procure full powers for concluding the treaty with Villars. I had expected to depart again immediately, and did not imagine he would detain me with him ten or twelve days, which was really the case. He was then endeavouring to reconcile the count of Soissons and the duke of Montpensier, whose enmity was first occasioned by some disputes relating to the prerogatives of their rank as princes of the blood, and afterwards strengthened and confirmed by their competition for the same posts, the same governments, and above all, for the same mistress, who was the princess Catherine, sister to the king. The duke of Montpensier had certainly the advantage in the king's favour, as well as in fortune, for he had immense estates; he appeared at the coronation with a train of four or five hundred gentlemen, while his rival could with difficulty maintain a dozen: but poor as the count was, without places, with-

"aloud in his ears, that he was a mangy snarling dog. The company were "persuaded that the marshal only affected this deep sleep, that he might "not expose himself to the brutality of such a fiery hot-brained man, "which would infallibly have happened if he had seemed to hear him. It "was also believed, that he was willing to leave the king all the fatigue of "the conversation."

* Feb. 17, 1594.

† Against a frivolous decree of the states of Blois, which annuls this ceremony unless it be performed in the city of Rheims. It was decided, that his majesty should be crowned by Nicholas de Thou, bishop of this city, and not by the archbishop of Bourges, who claimed that honour as lord almoner; and that no use should be made of the *sainte ampoule*, or holy bottle. See this ceremony described in the historians.

out governments, and disliked by the king ever since his escape from Rouen, he had this advantage over the duke, to possess entirely the heart of the princess. The countess of Guiche,* was their confidant; she was acquainted with all their secrets, managed their correspondence when they could not see each other, and so confirmed their mutual affection, that she made them both sign a contract of marriage, which the confusion only of the times prevented them from solemnizing.

His majesty was so passionately desirous of reconciling these two princes to each other, that the treaty with Villars was suffered to stand still, whilst he applied himself wholly to this affair. He had no regard to my remonstrance, nor to the danger there was in delaying it; he insisted upon my undertaking the difficult task of making them friends, conjointly with the bishop of Evreux, whom he had pitched upon at first, but found he was not able to succeed alone in so delicate an affair. It is certain, I still preserved a great share of the count's esteem, but I was well acquainted with his haughty and insolent disposition, and that the fear only of seeming to yield to a rival who was his superior, would not only confirm him in his pretensions, but perhaps induce him to form new ones. I will not tire the reader with a detail of the disputes, refusals, and sallies of ill humour which we were obliged to endure; we were more than once upon the point of giving up our task, as hopeless of ever accomplishing it: however, by the force of arguments, founded upon the king's command, after much patience, and many importunities, we prevailed upon the

* The same who had been mistress to Henry IV, but she was now grown very fat, coarse, and red faced. Journ. of the Reign of Henry III, tom. i. p. 270.

two princes to see each other, and to embrace. I was not to answer for the sincerity of this reconciliation: the circumstance of their passion for the princess, and her marriage, (which I carefully avoided mentioning,) continuing still undetermined, left the seeds of division in their hearts: but this I looked upon as an insurmountable obstacle. I was extremely well satisfied at having succeeded so far, without touching upon this subject, and I now saw nothing to delay my journey to Rouen: but I was deceived; the king's extreme solicitude to reconcile these princes was with a view of attaining another end, which he still more ardently desired: and this was the very same that I thought I had so prudently laid aside, the marriage of the princess his sister. Unfortunately I was the person his majesty fixed upon to accomplish this design. I was therefore commissioned to get the contract of marriage, which I have just mentioned, out of the hands of the parties concerned; that this obstacle being removed, the king, who was resolved to refuse the duke of Montpensier nothing he demanded, might be able to make use of his authority to prevail upon the princess to receive him for a husband, and by that means deliver himself from the apprehension of seeing a marriage concluded, which, though clandestinely, would be no less dangerous, since the count of Soissons would become his heir, whether he consented to it or not, and make use of his own riches against him: and if this marriage produced any children, as there was no doubt but it would, that would give his majesty, who had none, another cause for uneasiness.

I trembled when I received the king's order for this purpose. I represented to him, that Villars would

certainly engage himself in the enemy's party for ever, as would also Medavy, and several other governors in Normandy, unless I went immediately to those places. The affair was resolved upon; the king would not hear me, and only granted me what I asked to insure the success of his scheme, which was, to give no suspicion of my being employed in it, and to leave me the choice of what measures I thought necessary to take.

When I was alone, and had reflected upon the nature of the commission which I had received, I confess I was thrown into the utmost perplexity. From the knowledge I had of the princess Catharine's disposition, from whom it was necessary to get this contract, I was convinced it was not in the power of human eloquence to make her approve of the king's designs with regard to her. How difficult a task, to persuade a woman, and a princess, to renounce the man she loved, and bestow herself upon one whom she hated! There was no probability of succeeding but by artifice. I endeavoured to vanquish my scruples by reflecting, that in deceiving the lady, though I did not consult her inclination, yet I was attentive to her real interest; and that it was to free the king and kingdom from the bad consequences that might attend her irregular conduct, which induced me to act in this manner. I flattered myself that the princess would one day think herself obliged to me should I, by an innocent stratagem, prevent the ruin of her fortune, together with the loss of the king her brother's friendship. Specious as these reasons were, I cannot help confessing, that I did betray her; and this gave me pain. The impossibility of succeeding by any other means, and the hope that even she would one day pardon the deceit, and confess

that I had done her a real service by it, was what at last determined me. As for the count, having no occasion to make any application to him, and being likewise but little attached to him, the respect that was due to his person ought to be laid aside, when it opposed the public utility, and what the service of the king my master required of me. However, this affair, in the end, was the cause of great uneasiness to me, which my scruples, and the reluctance I had to engage in it, ought to have preserved me from.

There was still another difficulty to be removed. I saw the princess very seldom, on account of the multiplicity of business in which I was engaged, and I knew her discernment too well to doubt that whatever measures I made use of to obtain the contract in question, my unusual assiduity would, in a mind naturally distrustful, create suspicions which would put her upon her guard against all I could say, or induce others to say to her: I therefore endeavoured to act in such a manner that she should anticipate me herself. For this purpose I made use of the two du Perrons, who I knew (especially the youngest) were of a disposition to make their court to the great at the expense of betraying a secret. I was intimate only with the bishop of Evreux, the eldest: but one risks nothing in depending upon the good opinion all men have of their own merit; on this head they are always their own dupes first. I went therefore to visit the younger du Perron; I flattered him; I insinuated myself into his favour by feigning to impart secrets to him. He began to think himself a man of vast importance, and, through vanity, believed every word I said to him. When I perceived him intoxicated with self-admiration,

I told him (with every appearance of the utmost sincerity, exacting at the same time an oath of secrecy from him, which I should have been very sorry had he kept) that the king had imparted to me in confidence his intentions with regard to the princess; that he was resolved to marry her to the count of Soissons; and that some little difficulties, which still remained to be got over, prevented his majesty from publicly declaring his design. I was confident two days only would be sufficient for du Perron to get rid of this weighty secret, in such a manner that it would reach the princess Catherine. Accordingly a moment afterwards he told it, with injunctions of secrecy, to monsieur de Courtenai,* and two other of the count of Soisson's most intimate confidants; they ran to inform the count of it, and he the princess, and the countess of Guiche.

I did not doubt but the princess, flattered with such an agreeable hope, would make me the first advances; and I was not deceived. Going to take leave of her, as one just ready to undertake a long journey, I had a complete proof of du Perron's fidelity. The princess received me with more than usual respect; and the countess of Guiche, not willing to lose so favourable an opportunity, after some conversation upon indifferent matters, hastened to introduce the affair of the princess's marriage with the count, who was present; and embracing me in a transport of friendship, "See," said she to the lovers, "a man who is able to serve "you in your designs." The princess then addressed herself to me, and told me, that I knew the count and her had always esteemed me greatly; and that she in particular would be extremely obliged to me, if I would

* Gaspard de Courtenai.

assit her in endeavouring to regain the favour of the king her brother. She spoke only these few words, and left the care of saying more to that insinuating and graceful air, which she knew better than any other woman in the world how to assume when she pleased. I seemed to be absolutely gained, and after thanking the princess for the honour she did me, I added, that if I might depend upon the secrecy of all who were then present, I would inform them of some circumstances which would not be indifferent to them. Women make no scruple to promise secrecy, though they have been always accused of performing that promise very ill. The princess and her confidant added an oath to the assurances they gave me: but it was not my design to explain myself farther at that time. I asked them for three days delay: they assisted me in finding an excuse for deferring my journey to Rouen; and I took leave of the company, who impatiently expected the time I had prescribed.

I was punctual to my appointment, and waited upon the princess at the expiration of the three days. I suffered myself to be pressed a long time before I would disclose my secret; at last, seeming to yield to the importunity of the two ladies, I told them, that having several times sounded the king upon the marriage in question, he at first showed some reluctance to it, without caring to explain himself farther; but my earnest entreaties had at length prevailed upon him to open his heart to me upon the subject; and he confessed, that far from feeling any repugnance to conclude this marriage, he thought it a very proper one; and that since he had no issue of his own, he should be overjoyed to see the offspring of his sister and a prince

of his blood, whom he would look upon as his own children: that the gentle and complying disposition of the count of Soissons and the princess was highly agreeable to him, but that he should find it very difficult to forget that the count had endeavoured to deceive him, and to obtain his sister without his consent. This speech, every word of which I had concerted before, produced the effect I designed it should: the two lovers and their confidant began to confess they had acted indiscreetly, and to condemn themselves for conducting the affair with such a spirit of independence. This was what I waited for: I seized this oportunity to convince them that I believed the offence might be soon repaired; that the king was naturally kind, and easily forgot past injuries; that all that was now necessary to be done, was to behave in a quite contrary manner, to solicit his favour, seem absolutely dependant upon him, leave him master of their persons; in fine (and this was the most difficult point of all) sacrifice to him the contract they had both signed, as being what he was most offended with; and not to fear giving him even a declaration in writing, in which they should both bind themselves not to marry without his consent: after this condescension, I told them, on their side, I believed I might assure them, that in less than three months the king would himself anticipate their desires, and unite them for ever.

I found no difficulty in gaining credit to these assurances, and that very instant they promised to resign the contract of marriage; possibly because they thought it would be of no use to them, if the king, when he became absolute master in his dominions, should not agree to it. The countess of Guiche said she had left

it at Bearn, but would send for it immediately. They did not so easily yield to the declaration I next demanded, and without which their resigning the contract signified nothing, since the parties might, whenever they pleased, renew it. This was the very argument I made use of to enforce the necessity of giving it, and I convinced them, that without this, the king could neither depend upon their sincerity, nor be assured of their obedience. This article was strongly contested; and when at last, by the force of remonstrances, I obtained a writing, by which the princess and the count cancelled all promises that had passed between them, released each other from any engagement, and submitted themselves absolutely to the king's disposal; the consequences of this writing alarmed them, and they had recourse to a medium, without which, it is probable, the affair had rested as it was: this medium was, that I only should be intrusted with it, and should not suffer it to go out of my hands, not even though the king should require it. Luckily they did not add, that it should be returned to the princess, if matters took an unfavourable turn. I promised them, upon my word and honour, that I would not part with it; which satisfied them entirely, and the writing was delivered to me, in form, signed by the princess and the count, and sealed with their arms: it was in the following terms: "We, Ca-
"therine, only sister of the king, and we Charles de
"Bourbon, count of Soissons, of our own free will,
"without any entreaty, force, or constraint, have de-
"clared, and do declare by these presents, all and every
"of the promises of marriage which may be, or have
"already been made between us, to be null, and of no
"effect or force, in any form, or in any place whatever:

"we have consented and agreed, and do consent and "agree, that all the said promises be respectively can- "celled, every thing remaining as if they had never been "made; and we renounce every thing that we could "have claimed in virtue of them, and without any at- "tention had to them, each of us is at liberty and dis- "engaged, and may contract marriage with whomso- "ever either of us may think proper. In testimony of "which, and as a proof of our will and intention, we "have signed with our hands, and sealed with our arms, "the present declaration, and to render it of more ef- "fect, have chosen to swear to it, in the presence of "*****, whose names are here-under signed," &c.

The king's joy at my success, which he durst hardly flatter himself with the hopes of, was considerably diminished, when he found this instrument was to remain in my hands: he often entreated me earnestly to give it him; but finding, by my persisting to refuse him, that the obedience I owed him could not influence me to a breach of my promise, he no longer solicited it. The two lovers seeing the agreeable hopes I had given them still unaccomplished, could not, as it may be well imagined, pardon me for having deceived them; the succeeding part of these Memoirs will show how they resented it.

After the conclusion of this affair, which I cannot remember without pain, I was wholly employed in preparing for my journey to Rouen. I was apprehensive, and not without reason, that so long a delay had absolutely broke all my first measures with admiral Villars; however, I obtained full powers* from the king to con-

* The present duke of Sully has the original of this full power in his possession, as likewise many of the originals of Maximilian de Bethune's let-

clude a treaty, not only with this governor, but also with all the other governors and officers of the province. Just as I was going to set out, Desportes arrived, and stopped me once more; he was sent by the baron de Medavy to the bishop of Evreux, to desire that he would lend him his house of Condé for a little time; and also to prevail upon me to come thither, that he might confer with me upon the conditions of his treaty, and that of Verneuil. I left Chartres, and came in the evening to Anet, madame d'Aumale having long earnestly solicited me to visit her there. This lady, who had more understanding and prudence than her husband, conjured him incessantly to break with the league, and resign himself wholly to the king. She was sensible, that not only his duty and safety, but his interest likewise, required that he should take this step; for the duke d'Aumale's* domestic affairs were in such disorder, that there was no other way to avoid approaching ruin, but by being amongst the first who returned to their duty and obedience on this occasion, and who were on that account distinguished with very considerable rewards. I alighted at an inn in Anet, and while my supper was preparing, went to wait upon madam d'Aumale, attended only by one page. Joy animated the countenance of this lady the moment she perceived me. She gave me a most kind and friendly reception; and that she might not waste moments so precious,

ters upon this subject. [The king's letter of credence is in the original Memoirs; it differs in nothing from the general tenor of all state papers of this kind: it is dated "from Mante, the first day of February, 1594, in the fifth year of our reign." Edit.]

* Charles de Lorraine, duke of Aumale, who died in 1631, in his retirement at Brussels; his wife was Mary de Lorraine, daughter of René, duke of Elbœuf.

took me by the hand and led me through those fine galleries and beautiful gardens which make Anet a most enchanting place; here she expressed to me her earnest desire to see her husband return to the obedience he owed his sovereign, and named the conditions upon which he might be induced to consent to it. I omit all the propositions, either approved or rejected, that passed between us. Hitherto I had seen nothing but what did honour to the master of a truly royal house; and I should have been ignorant of the deplorable extremity to which the duke was reduced, if the duchess had not intreated, and even forced me to sup with her, and to stay there all night. After a repast, which we waited for a long time, and when it came was as bad as the attendance we had at it, I was conducted into a very large room, shining with marble, but destitute of furniture, almost all the windows broken, and so cold (for it was in the latter part of February,) that I could neither get heat, nor sleep in a bed, where the short narrow silk curtains, one thin coverlid, and damp sheets, were sufficient to benumb one, even in the midst of summer: not able to continue in bed, I rose, and thought to secure myself against the inconveniencies of my cold lodging by making a fire, but I could find no other wood to burn than green holm and juniper, in lighting which I burnt nearly the whole of my bed-straw: I was obliged therefore to wear my gown the whole night, by which means I was very early awake, and joyfully quitting so disagreeable a lodging, I went to join my attendants, the meanest of whom had fared better, and passed the night more comfortably than their master.

I made myself amends for this fatigue at Condé, where I found every conveniency that could contribute

towards an agreeable reception: as soon as I arrived, I got into a good bed, Medavy not being expected till noon. At first, Medavy regulated his behaviour according to that notion, that in such a conjuncture as the present, the most considerable nobleman has a right to set ten times a greater value upon himself than he is worth; he performed his part perfectly well, by an air of false distrust, and an affected superiority, which he imagined would procure him some advantage. I contrasted his vanity with a frankness that showed it to himself, and told him calmly, that if he waited till the great cities came to an accommodation, his sacrifice, as he had only Verneuil to offer, would immediately lose half its value; and that afterwards perhaps his proposals would not be listened to, and no reward granted him. My sincerity forced him to be candid likewise; he appeared more reasonable, and we soon agreed: he only intreated me not to make the affair public till the end of March, because he had engaged to Villars to do nothing without his participation. He sent Desportes with me to Rouen, to pay this compliment to the governor, and to observe, at the same time, whether I concluded the treaty with Villars, whose accommodation drew his along with it, and in some measure necessarily.

I came to Louviers the next day, from whence making known my arrival to admiral Villars, he sent the captain of his guards to receive me at the gate of the city. I did not enter secretly as before, but publicly, and with a kind of pomp. The streets were filled with the people; and the hopes of a peace by which tranquillity and commerce would be restored to their city, drew loud acclamations of joy from them as I passed. Villars had caused the finest house in Rouen to be prepared for

the reception of me and my train, which consisted of twelve or fifteen gentlemen; and had given all the necessary orders for treating us magnificently. La-Fond, who had the care of my reception, waited to conduct me thither: he outdid his master, and at night entertained me with music, and the diversion of dancers, and jugglers, whom I could not prevail upon to receive either money or presents. I sent Du-Perat to make my compliments to the admiral, madam de Simiers, and the abbé De Tiron,* who all had a great share in the management of this affair: they returned me the same civility a few moments after by the sieur De Perdriel, and desired him to tell me, that I must rest this day, and we should enter upon business the next. This, however, did not hinder the abbot from visiting me in the evening, without ceremony; indeed his whole conduct upon this occasion discovered a degree of rectitude and sincerity rarely to be found in such negociations.

I found by his discourse that the king had been within a very little of losing Villars irretrievably. A deputy from Spain, named Don Simon-Antonio, and another from the duke of Maïenne called Chapelle Marteau,† came to Rouen some days before my arrival, and had made very advantageous proposals to the governor; he had likewise daily received letters from the Catholics, even those in the king's party, which tended to raise unfavourable suspicions of his majesty's designs, and to prejudice him against a negociation entrusted to a Protestant agent: this argument had great weight with Villars, always zealous for his religion, and would have infallibly thrown him into the arms of the king's

* Philip Des-Portes, abbot of Josaphat, Tiron, and Bonport.

† Michael Marteau, sieur de la Chapelle.

enemies, if in this perplexity his mind had not been balanced by other letters from the cardinal of Bourbon, the bishop of Evreux, and the marquis de Vitry, who all assured him he might depend upon the king's word, and my sincerity. Tiron showed me part of each of these letters, and thought it necessary to warn me, that the admiral, having been perpetually beset by deputies from the league, and offended likewise at the delays that had been used with him, I must not expect to vanquish his irresolution without suffering some of those sallies of rage, so natural to him, but which, with a little patience, it was easy to allay.

I went to wait on Villars,* well prepared to sustain all these little assaults, and at first perceived plainly that the sight of me awakened some remains of distrust and anger in his mind. My behaviour soon dissipated this cloud, and he with great calmness and serenity proposed his conditions, which were comprized under the following heads: That he should continue still in his post of admiral, which had been bestowed on him by the league; and in his government of Rouen possess a power independent on the duke of Montpensier, governor of that province, at least during three years; and that this power should extend over the bailliwics of Rouen and Caux: That the exercise of the Protestant religion should not be allowed in Rouen, nor six leagues about it: That all the officers placed by the league in the cities belonging to his government should be continued there, with fif-

* M. de Villars, in the Memoirs of those times, is represented to be of a haughty disposition, and subject to frequent transports of anger. It is there observed, that the baron de Rosny was the only one that could succeed in these negociations. Memoirs for the history of France, vol. II. These negociations of the baron de Rosny are also commended by M. de Thou, b. cix.

teen hundred foot, and three hundred horse, to be maintained by the king for the security of those cities: That his majesty should give him the sum of an hundred and twenty thousand livres to pay his debts, and a yearly pension of sixty thousand: That Fescamp should be delivered to him: And lastly, that he should have the disposal of the abbeys of Jumiéges, Tiron, Bonport, La Valase, Saint-Taurin, and that of Montiviliers which he designed for a sister of madam de Simiers.

If all these articles had as much depended upon me as that relating to the abbey of Saint-Taurin, which was my own, and which I immediately yielded to Villars, the treaty had been concluded without any further delay; I said the same thing of those wherein the king was absolute master; but however full and extensive the powers I had received from his majesty were, I could do nothing in those articles which regarded either the duke of Montpensier, or Biron, the former being invested with the post of admiral, and the latter in possession of Fescamp, which he had got from Bois-Rosé on a promise of indemnification, that had not yet been fulfilled; and I did not think I had a right to settle this affair without informing the king of it. As I did not hesitate upon any of those conditions which depended immediately upon the king to grant, I expected that Villars would have been satisfied with my conduct; but he going out with the deputies from the league at the very moment that I was endeavouring to make him comprehend my reasons, he interrupted me hastily with these few words, pronounced with great fury: "That I "might spare myself the trouble of talking to him any "more, since he was determined either to finish the "treaty upon the spot, or break it off entirely."

Although I was a little disconcerted with this unforeseen blow, I answered Villars calmly, that I was persuaded the king would grant him the three articles in question, as well as all the others (that of Fescamp making two, because Bois-rosé was concerned in it): That this needed not hinder us from drawing up the treaty, and even signing it that moment, as if every thing were agreed to, inserting only this note in the margin opposite the three articles, *To be determined by the king*. And to convince him that I sought not to gain time, in order to betray him afterwards, I offered to remain in his power as an hostage, till his majesty returned an answer. Villars still started new difficulties, but he could not resist madam de Simiers, the abbot Tiron, and La Fond, who all supported my arguments. I had the treaty drawn up in haste; we signed it; and I sent a copy of it immediately to the king, with a long letter, in which I gave him an account of all that had passed. But before the answer could be brought to Rouen, an incident happened, which we once imagined would have rendered it useless.

Most of the governors of the small forts in the neighbourhood of Rouen, far from returning to the duty and obedience they owed their king, persisted in their revolt, because, in the present confused state of affairs, they acquired gains, which they foresaw would cease with the war. The most artful amongst them made themselves equally necessary to each of the contending parties, and exacted bribes from both. Du Rollet, governor of Pont l'Arche, was one of those who acted on these principles with the greatest subtilty: he had for more than a year flattered the king with hopes that he would fall upon means to deliver the city of Rouen and its

governor into his hands, provided he would grant the government of the place to him, which his majesty at all events gave him a written promise of. Du Rollet failing in an enterprise which exceeded his abilities, took it into his head to blast my negociation, which he attempted in this manner.

He commanded an officer named Dupré to mingle with my train as I passed through Ponte de l'Arche, and to enter Rouen with me. I had been informed that du Rollet was disaffected, but I had no reason to suspect this officer of having any bad designs, nor could I hinder him from following me. I was likewise absolutely ignorant of this Dupré's being the very same person who had been employed by du Rollet before to cabal against Villars in Rouen.* He was no sooner entered, than, renewing his former acquaintance, he put himself at the head of a party of rash inconsiderate persons, with whom he laid a plot to seize the old palace, and secure the governor's person; however, some of those to whom he had imparted his scheme, betrayed him, and Villars was informed of the whole plot. As soon as he heard it, and that it had been laid by a man who had entered Rouen in my train, he immediately concluded that I was the real author of it, and breaking into a violent passion, notwithstanding all that M. Tiron could say, who happened to be in the room at the time, he would not examine the matter any further, but sent d'Isencourt to me that instant, to desire I would come to him. I had dined that day with La Pile, attorney-general of the

* During the siege of Rouen, du Rollet endeavouring to throw himself into that city, was taken and shut up in the old castle, where, however, it is probable, he still continued to carry on intrigues for the king's interest. Cayet, b. iv. p. 14.

chamber of accounts, and had just received letters which pleased me exceedingly. The king granted Villars the three articles which had been referred to him, and engaged to procure the consent of the parties concerned. Opposite to these articles, I had written upon the margin of the original treaty which I had carried with me, *To be agreed to by his majesty's cammand.* I promised myself great pleasure in thus surprising Villars, who could not expect such quick dispatch; and went out of La Pile's house with the treaty in one hand, and a white scarf, which I had put into my pocket, in the other, intending to throw it about Villars's neck, and after embracing him, to salute him admiral, and governor of the districts of Rouen and Caux. The contrariety of reflections that employed our minds as we advanced towards each other had, I believe, something in it very uncommon. My gaiety was soon overcast, for Villars perceiving me at a distance, came towards me with hasty strides, his brows wrinkled, his countenance inflamed, his eyes sparkling, and all his looks and gestures expressive of the most violent transports of fury. He began by snatching the paper out of my hand, and not giving me time to speak, with a voice so altered by this inward agitation that it was scarcely articulate, he stammered out these words, too remarkable, not to be related exactly.

"So, sir, where, in the devil's name, are you going "so airy, and so full of mirth? By heavens you have "not attained your purpose: and before the game is "ended, you may perhaps have no cause to smile, at "least if I treat you as you deserve. You are out in "your reckoning, you, and your king of Navarre also, "for by my soul he has got a —— in the basket, and if

"he can find no other footman than Villars, I fancy he "will be but badly served." Saying this, he tore the treaty in a thousand pieces, and threw them into the fire. Having given the reins to his fury, he added an infinite number of invectives in the same tone, and equally extravagant, intermingling them with oaths, the rage he was in furnishing him with an inexhaustible source of them.

That I suffered him to go on thus, without interruption, was at first owing to my astonishment, or rather indeed to the necessity I was under of hearing him, and afterwards to the reflection that these sorts of dispositions cannot bear contradiction: at length stopping of himself, he began to traverse his chamber, which was very long and wide, like a man out of his senses. "Well, sir," said I, when I found he was silent, "have you yet "done talking at random? You have reason to be satis- "fied at having thus behaved like a madman, without "being contradicted in your extravagancies." Perceiving that the calm manner in which I spoke to him obliged him in spite of himself to listen to me, I proceeded to tell him, that what he had just said and done in my presence appeared to be nothing but an artifice he had conceived to retract the word he had so solemnly given; but that this turn would always dishonour him, and greatly lessen my opinion of his wisdom and integrity. "'Sdeath," cried he, stopping short, "I never "did, nor ever will deserve or suffer such a reproach. "I am a man of too much honour; such evasions are "only fit for those who betray their friends, and en- "deavour to get them assassinated." Hitherto he had said nothing so plain as this last word, by which, though I could not comprehend the whole extent of his mean-

ing, yet I was able to guess from whence so furious a behaviour proceeded.

I demanded an explanation, and protested to him, with that air of sincerity and confidence with which even the most prejudiced cannot help being affected, that I was absolutely ignorant of his meaning; and that if I could be convicted of any unfair proceedings with regard to him, I was ready to deliver myself into his hands, without desiring either pardon or favour. Thus obliging him to be more explicit, he reproached me with having employed Dupré to assassinate him, and to seize upon the old palace. The violence of his agitation not permitting him to speak otherwise than in broken and interrupted sentences, the affair appeared to me utterly improbable, and I could not hinder myself from entertaining some suspicions of his sincerity, nor from telling him, that he had been seduced by Spanish pistoles to contrive such a slight pretence for breaking with me. "Who? I?" cried he, relapsing again in a rage, "'Sdeath, must I confess that I have "acted treacherously with you, and broke my oath? "I would rather die than be guilty of such baseness." "By heaven, sir," answered I, "for you teach me to "swear, it is only by your fulfilling or breaking off the "treaty, that I can know whether to believe you an "honest or a perjured man."

We continued thus expostulating a long time, which increased rather than lessened our mutual dissatisfaction; so that at last we both became equally enraged. Here the abbot de Tiron interposed, and reduced us both to reason. "Depend upon it, sir," said he to Villars, "the baron de Rosny is not guilty of the plot that "has been laid against you; he is a man of too much

"honour; and, in such a case, too prudent to throw "himself into your power."

These few words explained every thing. I turned calmly towards Villars, telling him, that I was convinced anger alone had been the cause of all the injurious things he had said: and that I expected, as soon as it was allayed, he would repair his fault, by performing his first promise. "Well, sir," said he, already half pacified, "I will keep my word; but take care also not "to fail of yours, with regard to the three articles yet "undetermined." I answered, that if it had not been for his fury, which made him throw the treaty into the fire, he would have seen that the king had consented to grant him them all.

We were upon these terms when madam de Simiers was introduced: "Don't be angry with me, madam," said Villars, as he went to receive her: "all is over, "we are good friends again; but, by heaven, the traitor "who made all this mischief shall die before I eat or "drink." He kept his word, for causing Dupré to be brought before him, he questioned him as to his connexion with me, and finding by his answers that he did not know me even by sight, he ordered him to be immediately hung up at a window.

Villars intreating me afterwards to show him the king's letter, I did not scruple to tell him, that his majesty's secrets ought only to be communicated to his open and declared servants. To make Villars of this number, nothing more was necessary but to draw up the treaty again, which we signed, and each of us kept a duplicate of it: I then showed him the king's letter. It was agreed between us, that the treaty should remain a secret for some time, on account of the league and

the Spaniards, against whom Villars took new measures, by reinforcing the troops he had in Rouen. The next day I wrote to the king to inform him of the conclusion of the treaty, but that we had deferred the publication of it till the place should be strengthened with fresh troops, and till I should be informed whether his majesty would please to be present on so pleasing an occasion. Before I sent it off, I showed this letter to Villars, madam Simiers, and the abbé de Tiron, who all approved of it. The courier made such good haste, that he returned in four days with the king's answer, written with his own hand.

His majesty thanked me more like a friend, than a sovereign, for the service I had just done him, and concluded his letter with these words, "Come to me at "Senlis, on the 20th of March, or at Saint Denis on "the 21st, that you may help to cry, *Long live the king!* "in Paris, and afterwards we will do the same at Rouen. "Shew this letter, he added, to the new friend you "have acquired me, that he may see I do not forget "him, and be convinced that I love him, and know how "to prize and reward such brave men as he is." I went immediately, and showed this letter to Villars, who was so pleased with it, that he exclaimed, "By heaven, this "prince is too gracious and obliging to remember me, "and speak of me in such advantageous terms." From that moment he continued firm in his obedience and affection to the king; nor had his majesty amongst his oldest servants one more absolutely devoted to his interests than he was. He desired me to be satisfied with his word for the faithful execution of all the articles comprehended in the treaty, and I accepted it as the best security he could give me.

The remainder of the time that I staid in Rouen was employed in regulating some affairs of the same nature. I usually spent the day with the admiral, and at night retired to my apartment, to give audience to all the officers as well of the city and parliament, as of the army, who were scattered throughout this province, and who came to me privately to concert measures for separating the people from the interests of the league. Medavy was of this number, and I concluded the treaty with him. Verneuil not being a city of such importance as to make it necessary to use the same precautions with it as with Rouen, the king ordered Medavy to publish his treaty, as an example to the other governors.

As I was solicitous not to neglect meeting his majesty at the place he had appointed me, I made haste to relieve Rouen, after receiving from the governor every instance of gratitude and respect. I took a leave equally affectionate of the abbé de Tiron, and madam de Simiers, promised them to return soon, and assured the latter I would bring her brother, the marquis de Vitry, along with me, and a body of troops sufficient to put Villars in a condition to explain himself without danger. The obligations I owed to them were great enough to demand this service of me, although his majesty's interest had not been an additional motive to it.

It was upon some correspondence the king carried on in Paris that he founded his hopes of being soon admitted there, and he was on his way thither from St. Denis when I joined him. His party in that city was so firmly united, and so many persons of equal courage and fidelity had joined it, that it was almost impossible but that it should succeed. Ever since the battle of Arques, when the count of Belin was taken

prisoner by the king's forces, and had an opportunity of discovering the great qualities of Henry contrasted with the weakness of his enemies, the duke of Maïenne perceived the inclinations of the count to lean secretly towards the king. Full of this suspicion, he did not hesitate a moment about depriving him of the government* of so considerable a city as Paris, and seeking for a man whose fidelity to himself and the league could be depended upon, to whom he might entrust the care of this great city, at a time when the necessity of his affairs obliged him to repair to the frontier of Picardy, he fixed upon Brissac,† and made him governor.

Brissac, at first, answered his purpose perfectly well. The study of the Roman history had inspired this officer (who valued himself greatly upon his penetration and judgment) with a very singular project, which was, to form France into a republic upon the model of ancient Rome, and make Paris the capital of this new state. Had Brissac descended ever so little from these lofty ideas to an attention to particular applications, which in the greatest designs it is necessary to have some regard to, he would have perceived that there are circumstances, under which a scheme, however happily imagined, may, by the nature of the obstacles which oppose it, by the difference of the genius and character of the people, by the force of those laws they have adopted, and by long custom, which, as it were, stamps a seal upon them, become alike chimerical and imprac-

* The parliament upon this occasion made a decree, highly honourable for the count of Belin. The citizens are there exhorted to oppose his expulsion, and rather to quit Paris with him than suffer it. Memoirs for the History of France, vol. II. Memoirs of the League, vol. VI.

† Charles De Cossé, count of Brissac, marshal of France.

ticable. Time only and long experience can bring remedies to the defects in the customs of a state whose form is already determined; and this ought always to be attempted with a view to the plan of its original constitution:* this is so certain, that whenever we see a state conducted by measures contrary to those made use of in its foundation, we may be assured a great revolution is at hand; nor does the application of the best remedies operate upon diseases that resist their force.

Brissac did not go so far; he could not for a long time comprehend from whence the general opposition his designs met with proceeded, for he had explained himself freely to the nobles and all the chief partizans of the league: at last, he began to be apprehensive for his own safety, lest, while without any assistance he was labouring to bring his project to perfection, the king should destroy it entirely, by seizing his capital. Possessed with this fear, the Roman ideas quickly gave place to the French spirit of those times, which was to be solicitous only for his own advantage. When self-interested motives are strengthened by the apprehension of any danger, there are few persons who will not be induced by them to betray even their best friend. Thus Brissac acted:† he entered into the count of Belin's

* The sense in which the duke of Sully understands this maxim, and the true one in which it ought to be taken, is, that the ancient form and fundamental principles of government are to be changed as little as possible; he does not mean, that we are to admit the abuses which ignorance or necessity has introduced into the different institutions relating to the finances, politics, &c. He will treat this subject more largely in the sequel of these Memoirs.

† The duke of Maïenne, as de Thou observes, was informed of Brissac's treachery by the dutchess of Guise his mother; but he would not believe her. See the reduction of the city of Paris, Matt. vol. II. b. i. p. 174. Chron. Novenn. b. vi. p. 334, and other historians.

resolutions, though from a motive far less noble and generous, and thought of nothing but of making the king purchase, at the highest price, the treachery he meditated against the duke of Maïenne, in his absence. St. Luc,* his brother-in-law, undertook to negociate with the king in his name, and having procured very advantageous conditions, Brissac agreed to admit Henry with his army into Paris, in spite of the Spaniards. The troops of the league were absolutely at his disposal, and there was no reason to apprehend any opposition from the people.

D'O lost no time in making application for the government of Paris and the isle of France,† and obtained his request: but now a conflict between his interest and ambition so perplexed this superintendant, that notwithstanding his new dignity, the reduction of Paris was amongst the number of those things he most feared should happen; he would have had it believed, that the true motive of this fear was, lest the finances should become a prey to the men of the sword and gown, by whom, he said, the king, as soon as he was possessed of Paris, would be oppressed, for the payment of pensions, appointments, and rewards. But this discourse deceived none but those who were ignorant of the advantage he found in keeping the affairs of the finances in their present state of confusion, and with what success he had hitherto laboured for that purpose.

The king, upon this occasion, put all the friends of the count of Belin in motion, on whom he had no less

* Francis D'Epinay, lord of St. Luc, master-general of the ordinance.

† Our Memoirs make no mention of monsieur d'O's being deprived by the league of this government, which Henry III had bestowed upon him. Peref. 2d part.

dependance than upon Brissac; and at nine o'clock in the morning* presented himself, at the head of eight thousand men, before the Porte Neuve, where the mayor† of Paris, and the other magistrates received him in form. He went immediately and took possession of the Louvre, the Palace, the Great and Little Châtelet, and finding no opposition any where, he proceeded even to the church of Notre Dame, which he entered to return thanks to God for his success. His soldiers, on their part, fulfilled with such exactness the orders and intentions of their master, that no one throughout this great city complained of having received any outrage from them.‡ They took possession of all the squares and cross-ways in the streets, where they drew up in order of battle. Every thing was quiet; and from that day the shops were opened with all the security which a long continued peace could have given.

* March 22.

† This mayor of Paris was John L'Huillier, who when Brissac said to him, "We must render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," replied, "We must render them, indeed, but not sell them to him." F. l'Etoile's Journal ascribes the repartee to Henry IV. L'Huillier was rewarded with the post of president of the chamber of accounts, and counsellor of state: and Martin Langlois, an alderman, was made mayor of Paris in his room. Le Grain, b. vi. It is observed, in the volume of MSS. marked 9033, in the king's library, that Henry IV, entering Paris by the new gate, which has been since called *the gate of the conference*, he went out again, and returned several times, fearing, notwithstanding the repeated assurances of the mayor and aldermen, that by permitting his troops to enter Paris, their design was to cut them in pieces, and seize his person.

‡ The king perceiving a soldier take a loaf from a baker by force, ran to him and would have killed him. L'Etoile's Journal. Perefixe says, that La-Nouë being arrested for debts which his father contracted in this prince's service, complained to him of the insult. The king, in public, said to him, "La-Nouë, you must pay your debts, I pay mine;" but afterwards, taking him aside, he gave him his jewels to pawn to the creditors, instead of the baggage they had seized of his. Peref. 2d part.

The Spaniards had now only the Bastile, the Temple, and the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin in their possession; and there they fortified themselves, being about four thousand in number, with the duke de Feria and Don Diego d'Evora at their head, all greatly astonished at such unexpected news,* and firmly resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, if any attempts were made to force them from those advantageous posts. The king relieved them from their perplexity, by sending to tell them, that they might leave Paris, and retreat in full security. He treated the cardinals of Placentia and Pellevé with the same gentleness, notwithstanding the resentment he still retained for their conduct with regard to him. Soissons was the place whither these enemies of the king retired,† protected by a strong escort. His majesty then published a general pardon‡ for all the French who had borne arms against him. When this sacrifice is not extorted by necessity, but, on the contrary, made at a time when vengeance has full liberty to satiate itself, it is not one of the least marks of a truly royal disposition. Madam

* L'Etoile observes, that this news being brought to the Spaniards while Langlois was amusing them with relating circumstances out of the Roman history, the duke of Feria cried out two or three times, "He is a great king." L'Etoile's Journal.

† The king had a mind to see them march out, and viewed them from a window over St. Denis's gate. They all saluted him with their hats off, bowing profoundly low. The king, with great politeness, returned the salute to the principal officers, adding these words, "Remember me to your "master; go, I permit you, but return no more." Peref. 2d part. This anecdote agrees with that in the Memoirs for the History of France; but is contradicted by the Journal written by the same author.

‡ All the memoirs of those times are filled with instances of Henry's clemency and his sprightly and agreeable repartees. See the Memoirs above cited. A leaguer coming to him one day when he was playing at primero, "You are welcome," said the king to him, "for if we win you will be ours." Le Grain, book x.

de Montpensier* being introduced to the king, he received her as politely, and conversed as familiarly with her, as if he had some very important reason for sparing her the confusion which any other person in his situation would have been fond of throwing her into.†

The king had not yet found an opportunity to converse with me on the negociations at Rouen; therefore that evening, when the crowd of courtiers had quitted his apartment, he took me aside to a window in the Louvre, and made me give him a circumstantial relation of all that had passed, even to the minutest incidents; to which he listened with the utmost attention. He accused himself of being the cause of du Rollet's unseasonable attempt by not acquainting me with the proposals he had made him, which would have put me upon my guard against all that could have happened from that quarter.

The king had not yet mentioned to the duke of Montpensier, or the Baron de Biron, the conditions which, at their expense, he had granted to admiral Villars: and this was now all that perplexed him; for he conducted

* Catherine-Maria of Lorrain, widow of Lewis of Bourbon, duke of Montpensier.

† Perefixe observes, that he played at cards with her that very evening. L'Etoile adds, that he returned both her and madam de Nemours's visit; and relates a very extraordinary conversation that passed between the king and the latter; at the end of which, madam de Montpensier, whose hatred to Henry was publicly known, taking notice of his entering Paris, she wished that it had been her brother, the duke of Maienne, who had let down the bridge for his majesty. "Ad-zokers," replied the king, "he might possibly "have made me wait a long time, and I should not have entered so early. "This lady," continues he, "hearing the populace cry, *Long live the king!* "said, laughing, that Brissac had done more than his wife, who in fifteen "years had made but one cuckow [*cocu*, i. e. cuckold,] sing; whereas he, "in eight days, had made more than twenty thousand parrots sing in Paris." L'Etoile, ann. 1594.

himself by quite different maxims from those princes, who, in such cases, instead of submitting to make use of prudent measures to pacify the murmurings they may expect, begin by silencing all complaint, and exact an unwilling obedience by the force of authority only. He ordered me to make him, in the presence of these two noblemen, the same relation I had just now done, as if it were for the first time; and to give them to understand, that the conclusion of the treaty with Villars depended upon their sacrificing to him their rights. This I performed exactly as we had concerted; after which the king, turning towards them, said, with some emotion, that he would rather lose both Villars and Rouen, than gain them by doing any injustice to two persons whom he greatly esteemed. Montpensier and Biron were so affected with this manner of treating them, that they declared they would willingly resign their pretensions. Henry thanked them, and as an equivalent, gave the first the governments of Perche and Maine, to be joined to that of Normandy, as soon as it should be entirely reduced; but Villars's generosity changed this disposition; and to Biron he gave a marshal's baton, with four hundred and twenty thousand livres in money, to indemnify him for his loss.

The reduction of Paris engaged the king in new affairs, which obliged him to delay still longer his journey to Rouen. He was employed in receiving the homage of all the different courts,* of the university, and other corporations of the city of Paris, whose early submission he thought he could not better reward than by

* The Parliament of Paris was recalled from Tours, where it had been removed by letters patent from the king, dated the 28th of March, 1594.

applying his cares to the restoring to them that harmony and regularity which the civil wars had interrupted. He had likewise answers to give to several governors of towns and fortresses, particularly of the isle of France, who, after the example of the capital, came to make their submissions to him.

Villeroi was not amongst the first: it was necessity alone, that either fixed his irresolution, or forced his inclinations. Some places* of little importance still held out for him and his son, with which, by means of Du-Plessis his friend, and Sancy,† whose daughter was just married to his son, he made very advantageous conditions for himself: after obtaining, by repeated importunities, two truces, the one for two months space, the other for three months, which he procured to be ratified by the duke of Maïenne; after having a long time affected a neutrality, and set a thousand springs in motion to protract, till the last extremity, his separation from his old friends, he at last concluded a treaty‡ al-

* Pointose, &c. † Jaqueline de Harlay-Sancy.

‡ This circumstance in our Memoirs is positively contradicted by de Thou, who says, book cviii. that Villeroi's treaty with the king was concluded long before, but that his majesty would not suffer it to be made public, because he was desirous that Villeroi should make use of his influence over the duke of Maienne, to prevail upon him to join his party. Matthieu, in the places already quoted, is of the same opinion; and Cayet, who likewise supports it elsewhere, does not contradict it by Villeroi's letter to the duke of Maienne, dated the 2d of January in the same year; although, in relating the purport of this letter, he casts a kind of reproach upon this minister. In this letter, which was intercepted by the royalists, Villeroi, whose design was to inform the duke of Maienne beforehand of his treaty with Henry, which was going to be published, and to endeavour once more to prevail upon him to follow his example, advises Maienne to consider in earnest of a peace for the party in general, and himself in particular, "Because," says he, "their case is desperate;" and adds, "We have lost all "confidence in each other," &c. Cayet, book vi. page 293.

most after all the rest, and obtained the post of secretary to the king, in recompense for that he had given up.

The day after the king's entry into Paris he thought proper to make me set out for Rouen, since he could not go thither himself. I arrived at that city on the 25th of March, bringing with me Vitry, at the head of three hundred men. La Fond received me at the gate of the city, and conducted me, with all my train, to the house that was prepared for my reception, which belonged to the sieur de Martinbault, the finest in the whole town, and, by Villar's orders, furnished magnificently for me. Simon Antoine and La-Chapelle did not approve of so marked a distinction: they were yet ignorant of the treaty, but had taken so much umbrage at my first journey, that they made use of all

With the key that de Thou and other historians have given us to Villeroi's secret transactions with the chiefs of the league, and to the part he played by the king's order, the meaning of those words which they would impute to him as a crime, is easily comprehended; and it is even plain, that in speaking to the duke of Maienne, he could not have expressed himself otherwise. Indeed, if on this occasion, Villeroi could be charged with any fault, it was in not discovering a little more generosity when he had so good an opportunity for it; for besides those rewards mentioned in our Memoirs, he procured the government of Lyons for Charles de Neufville, marquis of Alincourt, his son. But what French nobleman in those times, or even what man, however little distressed in his circumstances, could boast of being exempted from this reproach? Father de l'Etoile does not conceal the covetous and selfish disposition of Villeroi. "Henry IV," says he in his Journal, "going one day, with twelve or fifteen of his courtiers, to partake of "a slight collation with Villeroi, he said to them, when they were seated "at table, 'My friends, we are at an ordinary, let us fare well for our mo-"ney, for we have an host that will make us pay dear for our entertain-"ment.'" I think it is unnecessary for the future to answer all those invectives which the duke of Sully, in the sequel of these Memoirs, throws upon a man who was highly serviceable to France, till his death in the year 1617, having possessed the posts of minister and secretary of state under four successive kings, Charles IX, Henry III, Henry IV, and Lewis XIII.

their credit with the governor to prevail upon him to forbid my entrance into the city.

La Fond, who acquainted me with all their intrigues, apprised me also, that they were that very night appointed to sup with the governor; as were likewise the abbé de Tiron, the president Boquemare, Medavy, and d'Hacqueville, two counsellors of the paliament, and some others. I resolved to take this opportunity to declare myself, and La Fond having assured me, that the admiral would not be displeased with any thing I did, I was willing to enjoy the confusion of the two deputies from Spain and the league, by telling them what had just happened at Paris.

I went immediately to St. Ouen, where Villars was with all his guests; he was talking to the deputies at one end of the gallery when I entered; I did not scruple to interrupt their conversation, by running to embrace him, and told him I was come to invite myself to sup with him, having some news to acquaint him with. Villars, after returning my embrace pointing to the two deputies, as if he knew my intended scheme, and acted in concert with me, told me coolly that having so many people to sup with him that night he was afraid I should not find the party well assorted. I replied, that I could accommodate myself to the company of every one, and that I was persuaded (the animosity of party aside) those two gentlemen would receive the news I had to tell them with pleasure. The governor glancing a look at Simon-Antoine, that deputy replied, with an easy air, that he would be very glad to hear how the king had treated the Spaniards and the two cardinals; adding encomiums on this prince, and compliments to me, with great art and politeness. "By what I observe, you will oblige me

"to treat you all," said Villars, adding an apology for the meanness of his entertainment.

The rest of the company approaching, the president Boquemare pressed me to declare my news; but I would say nothing till we were seated. "I am," said the admiral (placing himself first at the middle of the table) "a very bad master of the ceremonies." I was resolved not to use any with Don Simon, who I knew did not want ambition, which was likewise supported by his rank; lest, therefore, he should accept, on a bare compliment, of the chief place, which, on an occasion, when I represented the king's person, might have had some consequence, I seated myself without any ceremony, at the head of the table, telling the Spanish deputy, that if our own persons only were concerned, I would willingly pay him what I thought due to a stranger of his merit: to which he answered with great politeness. La-Chapelle observing to him, that the place I held at table was a type of that the king possessed now at Paris, and that things only followed their natural course; "I "perceive it," said the Spaniard, "and I am afraid "this precedence is but a bad augury for us; however, "it shall not hinder us from being merry, and drinking "to the health of our masters, who are not enemies, "since there is no war declared between them." This answer was equally wise and political; and, during the whole repast, the Spaniard supported his part of the conversation with great spirit and understanding, seemed charmed with the king's fine qualities, and praised him particularly for the clemency with which he acted towards his enemies, whether foreigners or French. I took notice that Tiron, and a priest named Dadré,* were silent while this subject was discussed.

* John Dadré, penitentiary of the church of Rouen.

The whole company either were, or seemed to be, highly pleased with the entertainment of the evening. When we broke up, Villars, as he attended me out, entreated me not to visit him next day, which he would employ in getting rid, some way or other, of his deputies. He knew not yet how these two men intended to take their leave of him, but told me, that if I wanted to be informed of it, I needed only spend the afternoon with madam de Simiers: there I learned, that Villars had been closeted three whole hours with the two agents; that they had made use of reproaches, and very harsh language to him. But he was not a man to be easily intimidated or induced to alter his resolution; he told them plainly, that he had concluded a treaty with the king, therefore it was necessary they should retire without delay, either to Soissons, or to the duke of Maïenne, whither he would grant them a safe conduct, the only favour he had now in his power to bestow. There was a necessity for coming to this extremity with them; and Villars took care to guard against the effect of their resentment, by giving orders for the newly arrived troops to enter Rouen, with which he took possession of the palace, the fort, and the castle. This done, he sent La Fond to me, to tell me, that the next day, at my first request, he would declare himself for the king, in the presence of all the inhabitants of the city, (whom he caused to be assembled for that purpose,) with all the form and ceremony that might make this action more solemn.

I never experienced a more perfect satisfaction than what arose from the reflection of having done the king and kingdom so considerable a service; nor enjoyed a more tranquil sleep than that which the succeeding

night afforded me. The next morning early I hastened to Villars, at St. Ouen, where I found him walking in the great square, whither he had come an hour before, and which, as well as all the principal streets, was filled with such a prodigious concourse of people, drawn thither by the report of the deputies' departure, and the new ceremony, that Perdriel, d'Isencourt, La Fond, and the soldiers whom the governor had sent to attend me, could with difficulty open me a passage: the joy was general, and diffused itself on every face.

I went up to the admiral, with whom I found the baron de Medavy and the president Boquemare: after the accustomed salutations were over, I told him, that the king being now a good Catholic, it was time he should give him some testimonies of his duty and zeal. Villars replied, that in his heart he was already faithfully devoted to his majesty's service; and that if, to make an open profession of it, nothing more was necessary than to put on the white scarf, he was ready to receive it at my hand. I took one out of my pocket; and Villars had no sooner put it on, than, without further thought, "Come on," he cried, with a transport which marked his character, "the league is, to cry *Long live the king!*" The profound silence that had been held during our conference, was now interrupted at this word by an universal acclamation of *Long live the king!* at the same instant, by the ringing of the great bell, with all the others in the city; the discharge of all the artillery from the fort and other places, added to this general shout, a noise was raised capable of inspiring terror, if the joy which dilated every heart had permitted them to perceive, that there was not a house in the city that was not shook by it. "The sound of

these bells," said I to the governor, "suggests to us to "go and give thanks to God in the church of Nôtre Dame." Accordingly, *Te Deum* was sung there with great solemnity, and followed by the celebration of the mass, at the beginning of which I retired. As soon as it was over, Villars took me up in his coach, and carried me to a magnificent entertainment, to which the sovereign courts, all the officers of the army, and magistrates of the city were invited. Orders were sent to Verneuil, Pontaudemer, Havre, where the chevalier d'Oise* commanded, and to all those places that acknowledged the admiral's authority, to follow the example of the capital.

It was my first care, as soon as I was at leisure, to inform the king of what had just happened, and to intreat him to send some of his counsellors to re-establish the parliament. The next day the citizens came in a body to thank me for my services, and to bring me their present, which consisted of a sideboard of plate, gilt and finely wrought, of upwards of three thousand crowns value, which I was obliged to accept, notwithstanding all my endeavours to the contrary. It was not long before my courier returned with dispatches from his majesty: he brought a letter for admiral Villars, in which the king styled him his cousin, admiral, governor in chief of Rouen, Havre, &c. and invited him to come to court, in terms which promised him a most gracious reception: that which was for me contained an order to return as soon as possible.

The admiral, who would not appear there till he had an equipage suitable to his rank and dignities, took time to prepare himself; as for me, I set out before,

* George de Brancas Villars, chevalier d'Oise, the admiral's brother.

and lay the first night at Louviers, where I had the following humorous adventure with Bois-rosé, whom I did not know.

This gentleman having learned by public report, that the king had given Villars the fort of Fescamp, and hearing no mention made of any recompense that was to be bestowed upon him, resolved to complain of this hardship to the king; and having occasion for the protection and countenance of some governor who was known to his majesty, came to Louviers a few moments after my arrival, to get a letter of recommendation from du Rollet. He alighted at the same inn which I had chosen, and was told that a gentleman was just come, who by his train, and the discourse of his domestics, appeared to be in great favour at court: my name they did not mention, and Bois-rosé, believing me to be still at Rouen, did not think of asking it; he did not hesitate a moment in preferring the protection of this lord to that of du Rollet: he entered my chamber, and after making himself known, told me, that he had great reason to complain of a nobleman of the court, called the baron de Rosny, who, abusing his master's favour, had sacrificed him, as well as the duke de Montpensier, and marshal Biron, to admiral Villars, his old friend. He afterwards explained his demands, but with so much emotion, so many oaths and menances against this baron de Rosny, that I was never so well diverted in my life, as at the figure I made on this occasion.

When he had vented all his rage, I told him that I was well enough acquainted with the affair he mentioned to me, to assure him, that the baron de Rosny durst not have done any thing in it but by the king's express command; and that his majesty would not fail

to repair his loss of Fescamp, by a recompense with which he would have reason to be contented. I did not think it necessary to carry my civility so far as to promise to serve his resentment against this baron of whom he complained so bitterly; on the contrary, I told him that if he knew the baron de Rosny, he would confess that a man who, for the good of the state, had voluntarily resigned his abbey of Saint-Taurin d'Evreux, which the late king had given him, could only be influenced by necessity to do what he attributed to injustice. I took leave of him by saying, that I should be glad to see him when I arrived at court, where I promised to speak to the king concerning him, and to obtain the equivalent he demanded for the loss of Fescamp. He went away as much pleased with me as dissatisfied with the baron de Rosny; but having inquired who I was of one of my pages, whom he met at the bottom of the staircase, he was thunderstruck to hear the name of a man whom he had mentioned in such harsh terms when speaking to himself; so that being apprehensive of the resentment he supposed I entertained against him, he mounted his horse again instantly, went to another inn, and set out with all possible expedition for Paris, that he might get thither before me, and secure himself by some powerful protector against the bad offices he expected from me.

The adventure did not end here. While Bois-rosé took precautions against me as an irreconcilable enemy, I with more tranquillity pursued my route by Mante, from whence I carried my wife to Paris. The first thing I did after my arrival, was to wait on the king, and give him an account of my journey. He, according to his usual custom, obliged me to inform him of

the minutest particulars. After having exhausted every thing that was serious, I was willing to divert him with the scene between Bois-rosé and myself at Louviers; for Bois-rosé had taken no notice of that, and had only conjured his majesty not to be prejudiced by what I might say against him, on account of an old quarrel between us. The king laughed heartily at the adventure: I sent for Bois-rosé, and he finding I was the person to whom he was referred, believed his affairs desperate: I enjoyed his uneasiness and perplexity for some time, and then drew him out of them in a manner that surprised him greatly. I solicited warmly in his favour, and obtained for him a pension of twelve thousand livres a year, the rank of captain, with additional pay, and two thousand crowns in hand. He had not hoped for so much; but, his blustering apart, I looked upon him as an officer of great courage and resolution, and afterwards retained him in my suite, and thought him worthy of the post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance in Normandy, after the king had made me master-general.

I concealed nothing from the king of all that had happened to me at Rouen, except the present of the side-board of gilt plate. He was astonished one morning to see it brought into his chamber. I told him, that, having in vain endeavoured to prevent the city of Rouen from making me this present, I came to bring it to his majesty, as a thing which belonged to him, since I had bound myself by a solemn vow, never on such occasions to accept of any gift from his subjects, while I continued in his service.

And here it seems not improper to declare my reasons for this conduct, which, I am persuaded, will not be thought a well concerted stratagem to gain greater

riches; for although the rewards I received from the king were very considerable, and even surpassed my expectations, yet it will be readily allowed that a man, who for so long a time had almost the sole management of the finances and the army, was able to enrich himself by a much shorter method. It is not necessary that I should name it; the past age has afforded but too many examples of it; notwithstanding all my endeavours to introduce a contrary custom, the future, I doubt, will supply many more.

Interest therefore being out of the question, my resolution to avoid receiving any obligations will be placed to the score of vanity. Against this imputation I can offer only a simple assurance, but a very sincere one, that I acted thus from no other motive, than the desire of teaching those who might succeed me in the conduct of affairs, that in this respect there is no difference between them and such as are set over the administration of justice; for if a judge who appears willing to receive presents, even without any intention of being influenced by them, is looked upon with abhorrence, a minister, and any man invested with a public employment, renders himself equally guilty, who willingly receives gifts, for which those who bestow them have always in view the indemnifying themselves some time or other, either at the king's or the people's expense. If we cannot depend on the rectitude of intention of those who make us presents, (it is to my successors that I now address myself,) let us still less depend on ourselves who receive; and let us accustom ourselves to regard as two things which can never be reconciled, our master's profit, and our own, unless, as I have observed before, it should be himself who bestows gifts on

us; and his liberality will always go so far as to leave us no cause to complain of him upon this account, after we have been able to convince him that our expectations are confined to him alone. But, unfortunately, being accustomed to calculate, and to see immense sums pass through our hands, we are led insensibly to consider as a small matter what suffices to raise a fortune for a private individual.

The king did not scruple to own that he was not used to this sort of reasoning; and that if this system, simple as it was, could be once established in the finances, it would be a sure method of enriching both the crown and the state; a method that before and since has been ardently sought for in vain. He would not have accepted the service of plate, had it not been to accommodate himself to my way of thinking, by obliging me to receive it from his hands. This present became publicly known, because he granted me a writing,* in which it was specified, that this side-board was a present made by the city of Rouen to his majesty, who had bestowed it upon me; and the next day this prince sent me by M. Beringhen three thousand crowns, in his own casket, to make me sensible that such an action

* Rosny's disposition agreed perfectly well with the king's. When he entrusted the finances to his care, he desired him to receive no present whatever without his knowledge; and when Rosny informed him of any that were offered to him, the king immediately permitted him to accept of them, being so desirous that he should find his advantage in serving him faithfully, that he often added gifts of his own to those perquisites, to encourage him to persevere in his integrity. But Rosny never received them till they were duly registered in the chamber of accounts, that every one might know the bounty of this prince towards him; and that there might be no opportunity to reproach him with having employed his favours to empty his coffers. Peref. pag. 227. This writer as well as the rest of the world, was, through the duke of Sully's modesty at that time, ignorant that he himself was the contriver of this judicious scheme.

in a minister should not go unrewarded. I entered into his views by informing the public of this double donation.

Admiral Villars appeared soon after at court, with a train of more than a hundred gentlemen, some of whom were of the greatest families in France; but people soon drew off their attention from the magnificence of his horses, and the grandeur of his equipages, to fix it upon his generosity and modesty, in which indeed true riches consist, although they are seldom possessed by the same person. He approached the king with an air perfectly noble, yet full of the deepest respect, and threw himself at his feet. "Admiral," said the king, in pain at this posture, and raising him hastily, "such submission is due only to God;" and resolving to elevate him as much as he had humbled himself, he began to expatiate to the courtiers upon the great actions which Villars had performed, and with a discernment so just as gave them new merit. The admiral, by protestations of respect, and devotion to his service, endeavoured to stop the course of those praises; and afterwards perceiving the duke of Montpensier, he went up to him, and, kissing his hand, acknowledged him his superior, resigning to him his government of Rouen with so good a grace, that the duke, who had at first received him coolly, being charmed with his generosity, embraced him several times, and from that moment received him into the number of his most valuable friends.

The months of April and May were employed in the same manner by the king and his council, in receiving deputies from the different cities and governors, who came to treat upon conditions for surrendering. Those of Lyons and Poitiers were the most considerable; a

strange fall for the duke of Nemours!* This ambitious man suffered the chimerical project of making himself king of France, by marrying the infanta of Spain, to employ his mind, which the public hatred, and the opposition of his own brother the duke of Maïenne obliging him to renounce, he soon consoled himself for this disappointment, by erecting, in idea, a principality composed of the provinces of Lyonnois, Beaujolois, Forêt, Maconnois and Dombes, which he was to hold of Spain. He began by endeavouring to make sure of the capital of his new kingdom, but the Lyonnois, more subtle than he, took care to secure the person of their pretended sovereign,† who treated them already like a tyrant; and considering him in that light, kept him confined, without any intention, however, of breaking with the party. The league was offended at the affront offered to one of their leaders; and Saint Sorlin,‡ the duke of Nemour's youngest brother, interesting Spain in his cause, obtained from the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Terra Nova, governor of Milan a powerful supply of forces, with which he fell upon the Lyonnois. This violence determined them to separate openly from the league; and calling in colonel d'Ornano to their

* Charles Emanuel of Savoy, duke of Nemours, son of James, and Anne D'Est, widow of Francis of Lorrain, duke of Guise.

† Perefixe supposes the duke of Maienne himself to be the author of the revolt of Lyons, it being his design to snatch this city out of the hands of his half brother. What the duke of Sully says here of the duke of Nemours, ought not to hinder us from doing him justice in other respects: he is allowed by all the historians, to have possessed very great and amiable qualities, both of mind and person, and to have been one of the most deserving noblemen in all France. See his panegyric, and that of the marquis de Saint Sorlin, his brother, in the third volume of the Memoirs of Brantome, under the article of monsieur de Nemours, p. 23, and following; and the account of the affairs of Lyons, in Cayet, book vi. fol. 299, and other historians.

‡ Henry de Savoy-Nemours, marquis of Saint Sorlin.

assistance, they declared publicly for the king, pulled down and dragged the arms and colours of Spain, Savoy, and Nemours through the dirt, burnt with insulting raillery, in the public square, the effigies of a woman, in the habit of a sorceress, with *the League* inscribed on her forehead, and allowed only three months time to all the little towns dependent upon Lyons, to return to their duty.

The duke of Nemours remained in great perplexity during this tumult, and apprehending something worse than confinement from his pretended subjects, put on, to effect his escape, the habit of his valet de chambre, whom he resembled in his stature, and going out of his apartment with his close-stool pan in his hand, passed through the antichamber where the guards were, without being known, having turned his face aside, as if to avoid the bad smell; from thence he stole into the street, and gained the fields, happy, after so much imaginary grandeur, to abandon, like a fugitive, a city which he had destined for the seat of his glory; and convinced by sad experience of a truth to which we are always blind, that there is nothing so difficult as to make effects answer our desires.

Ambition made also another madman: Balagny* seeing himself governor of Cambray, a place by its situation of great importance for the king, had the boldness to demand that his title of governor should be changed into that of sovereign prince; and unfortunately for him, he obtained his request. Hence he flattered himself that he should see his name increase the catalogue of crowned heads, and forgot that he wanted means to maintain himself in that elevated rank. He supported it,

* John de Montluc, bastard of John de Montluc bishop of Valence.

or thought he did so, by exhausting his purse to appear with magnificence at court, and to send to the seige of Loan two thousand arquebusiers, and three thousand horse. But the glory of this new potentate was of short duration; he, as well as Nemours, split upon the common rock so fatal to ambitious men, who can never be persuaded to believe, that the best concerted schemes are those which afford only moderate advantages, but subjected to no changes, and secured from all hazards.

IV. The Spaniards seeing that in the centre of the kingdom every thing slipped through their hands, resolved to stop the torrent by some important blow, and laid seige to La-Capelle. The king did not hesitate a moment upon the necessity of leaving his domestic affairs, to go and prevent the reduction of this place. His soldiers however were not in the same disposition; weary of war, they sought only to lose the remembrance of it in retirement and ease: so much time therefore was wasted before the king could draw his army together, that although he marched before with a small body of troops, yet he came too late; he found the siege so far advanced, and the count of Mansfield who commanded it, so advantageously posted, that, he could not venture, weak as he was, to force him. But the place being of great strength, he flattered himself that the governor would hold out long enough to give time to the rest of the troops to join him, and then he would be in a condition either to throw succours into the town, or force the besiegers to a battle. But this governor, following the maxim of those times, attentive only to his own profit in every thing, had been so sparing of provisions, ammunition, and soldiers to man his garrison,

that he was obliged to surrender much sooner than, with a contrary conduct, he needed to have done, and thus saw himself ruined by his avarice.

The king, by way of reprisal, invested Laon;* he was not ignorant that the league had put this place, already strong by its situation and fortifications, into a condition to make whoever attacked it repent of his attempt. Du-Bourg† was governor of it, one of the best and most experienced officers the duke of Maïenne had in his army: the duke's second son, the count of Sommerive,‡ with a great number of the nobility, were shut up there. The king, therefore, considering that, on this occasion, he had his military reputation to sustain, to which he owed all his success, neglected no care or attention, to accomplish this enterprise.

I attended him joyfully to this siege, and was charged, according to my taste, with the direction of a battery of six pieces of cannon, conjointly with the elder de Born,§ who, in quality of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, had the conduct of it in the absence of the count de la Guiche,‖ the master-general, and consented to take me for his colleague. I had scarce taken possession of my new employment, when I was obliged to abandon it: the king was informed by letters from Paris, that the count d'Auvergne,¶ with d'Entragues,

* In Picardy.

† He chose rather to go out of the Bastille, of which he was governor, publicly with the black scarf, than to receive a bribe to put it into the king's hands. F. de l'Eotile. Cayet, vol. II. p. 691. He was called Anthony du Maine, surnamed du Bourg or l'Espinasse.

‡ Charles Emmanuel of Lorrain, count of Sommerive.

§ John de Durefort, lord de Born.

‖ Philibert de la Guiche, govenor of Lyons, was made grand master of the ordnance in the year 1578, in the room of the marshal de Biron.

¶ He will be mentioned in the sequel. Charles of Valois, duke of An-

his father-in-law, had begun those secret practices against him which afterwards had like to have brought the count to a scaffold; and that many disaffected and seditious persons daily resorted to Paris. A violent dispute had likewise just commenced, between the university and curates of Paris, on one side; and the Jesuits on the other; which, in a government yet hardly established, might be attended with dangerous consequences.

This news convinced his majesty that there was a necessity for having a vigilant and faithful agent in that great city; yet he delayed mentioning the affair to me, because he knew well that I should not be pleased with an employment which would oblige me to leave the siege. However, a letter which I received from the cardinal of Bourbon, and which I could not avoid showing him, determined him to propose it to me. The cardinal without giving a particular account of what had happened at Paris, only expressed himself ardently desirous of seeing me, upon affairs of great importance, which, he said I only could succeed in. Though all this had only the air of a compliment, yet his majesty thought he ought not to neglect the information: and had these affairs related to the cardinal alone, the king had so many motives for being solicitous about him, that when he had read this letter, he commanded me to prepare for returning to Paris, which I obeyed, but with great regret at quitting the siege. There was a necessity to fill up the employment

gouleme, grand prior of France, son of Charles IX, and of Mary Touchet, lady of Belleville, daughter of the lieutenant-particulier of Orleans. She died in the year 1638, aged 89 years, and the duke of Angouleme in 1639. He was son-in-law to Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues, who by his marriage with Mary Touchet, had Henrietta de Balzac, marchioness of Verneuil, mistress of Henry IV, and half sister to the count of Auvergne.

I left vacant with a man whose fidelity could be depended upon. I named to his majesty Vignoles, Parabere,* and Trigny, and he chose Parabere. I flattered myself that when the affairs which called me to Paris were terminated, I should return to Laon; and I was resolved to use all possible expedition with them; but to these, others succeeded so quickly, that from the end of May to the beginning of August, the period this siege lasted, all I could see of it was in those little excursions I sometimes made thither from Paris; therefore my account of it will be equally interrupted.

Having received the king's last instructions for my journey, I set out, and reached Crêpy, where I lay the first night, and the next day arrived at Paris. I waited upon the cardinal immediately, and found him very ill,† and as much weakened in mind as body: he embraced me tenderly, and discovered great joy at seeing me; then ordering every other person to leave the room, made me sit down by his bedside, that I might hear the many important things he had to say to me. That which he began with gave me no great opinion of the rest; but it was what was nearest his heart, although it consisted only of domestic disquietudes, and female quarrels, with which I am almost ashamed to trouble the public. A certain lady, named madam de Rosieres, was the cause of them. The cardinal, either through jealousy, or a disturbed imagination, had taken it into his head, that she hastened his death by magic, to be revenged on him for sowing dissension between

* John de Baudeau de Parabere.

† According to de Thou, book cix. the moment he perceived himself ill, he departed from Gaillon, and came to St. Genevieve, and afterwards to his fine house of the abbey of St. Germain.

her and the abbé de Bellozanne, her favourite: his only consolation was, that if he did not die, his tormentor would; for my wife had informed him that this madam de Rosieres was dangerously ill; and probably it was upon this information that he had formed his whole dream of magic and death.

He imparted all these secrets to me with such apparent dejection, that I have no doubt but the full possession which these extravagant notions had taken of his mind, contributed in a great measure to hasten his death. I endeavoured to bring him back to reason; and he at last was able to speak to me of his other affairs, which he had nearly forgot. His next subject of complaint was, that the king had not received very favourably a request which he had made him for permission to dispose of his benefices. He however expressed great friendship and attachment towards his majesty, highly extolled his virtue and great actions, and ardently desired to share his entire confidence; he next entreated me to use all my endeavours to prevail upon him to keep up a close correspondence with the pope, and to obtain the holy father's benediction, that he might afterwards procure from him the dissolution of his marriage with queen Margaret of Valois, and be at liberty to marry another princess, by whom he might have children who would secure the crown to the house of Bourbon, and peace and tranquillity to France. The conclusion of this discourse was much more judicious than I had reason to expect: nor was the pope's panegyric improperly introduced in it; for it must be confessed that Clement the Eighth was not only possessed of great wisdom and justice, but was also so good a politician, that the court of Madrid could never boast of having deceived him by its artifices.

The Jesuits were the next subject the cardinal introduced: he said schemes were forming both secretly and openly, to banish the whole society out of France, in every part of which, it was well known, they were in great credit, particularly with the most zealous of the Catholics who had lately joined the king; he expressed great regret for such proceedings, because the friendship of the Jesuits might be of the most essential service in preserving the tranquillity of the state, while, by exciting their ill-will, very dangerous consequences were to be apprehended. Their enemies, in the present instance, had, he said, revived some old complaints formerly made by the Sorbonne, the university, and the clergy of Paris, respecting the diminution of certain profits which they had been accustomed to derive from the instruction of youth, and now engaged these three bodies to enter an action against the Jesuits. After the cardinal had thus explained the causes of the controversy, he observed, that if it were with the king's secret approbation that these things were done, he had nothing to say against them, but would content himself with remonstrating through me, with his majesty, as, in his opinion, neither the times nor the state of affairs were such as to warrant the agitation of these questions: he recommended, therefore, that they should be deferred at least till the king's Catholicism was of a little older date (the expression generally used at this time), till he was thoroughly reconciled with his holiness, and had received the apostolic benediction; or at any rate, till he was in peaceable possession of the kingdom, lest the language of the advocates of the two parties, in their public pleadings might give rise to animosities and opinions dangerous to the state, particularly so if his majesty

were not yet firmly fixed in his belief in the Catholic church, and his conversion had only been the effect of policy, and dissimulation, an opinion, he added, which messieurs de Longueville,* de Nevers, the marshal Biron, and many other persons of consequence did not hesitate to express to him through M. d'Humiers, d'Entragues, Sourdis, and others; for all these reasons he begged me seriously to consider, whether it would not be better, before matters of such importance were brought to extremities, to wait, and see how the society of Jesuits, after the king should be reconciled to the church and the holy see, would conduct themselves, as well in what regarded the grandeur of the kingdom as the glory and honour of the king's person; or, at all events, to wait till some of the society (as would certainly happen if there were ill-disposed persons in it) gave cause for proceeding openly against them, in which case, he assured me, that he would be the first to vote for their expulsion, well-knowing that those who at present appeared the most scrupulous would follow his example.

A fourth affair, which he recommended to me, was to support, against the superintendant d'O, the old archbishop of Glasgow, whom he loved and honoured as if he had been a near relation. This archbishop bore the name of Bethune.† The queen of Scotland,

* Henry d'Orleans, duke of Longueville.

† James de Bethune, archbishop of Glasgow, came to Paris in quality of ambassador in ordinary from the queen of Scotland, and died there in the year 1603, aged eighty-six years, having, during fifty-seven years, suffered great vicissitudes of fortune, after the murder of cardinal de Bethune, archbishop of St. Andrews, his uncle, which happened in the year 1546. His epitaph may be still seen in the church of St. John of Latran. Amelot de la Houssaye, in his Memoirs, mentions the process that Nicholas Denetz, bishop of Orleans, had with Maximilian Francis, duke of Sully,

his benefactress, being dead, all he now desired was to spend the short remnant of his life in peace, far from his native country: but in the superintendant he found an enemy, to whose persecutions he was perpetually exposed, and who seemed resolved to drive him, if possible, out of Paris, and the isle of France, notwithstanding all the cardinal's solicitations, which indeed, he seemed to think, had only served in this, as in many other instances, to make him act with more violence towards the archbishop: the reason which the cardinal assigned for this opinion was the supposed fear and jealousy of d'O, lest he should disclose to the king, now he was entirely reconciled to him, the names of those who had been most zealous in the attempts to form the *third party*. He concluded this subject by

in which it appears that they unjustly disputed the right this family had to the name of Bethune, "However this may be," said he, speaking of this archbishop, "the family of Betun in Scotland, from whence were descend-"ed the cardinal archbishop of St. Andrews, and the archbishop of Glasgow, "ambassador from queen Mary Stuart in France, where he died in 1600, "or 1601 (here is an error in the date) is acknowledged by messieurs de "Sully, and de Charost, for a branch of their house." Vol. II. p. 68. Therefore, according to our Memoirs, both the archbishop of Glasgow, and the archbishop of St. Andrews' true name was Bethune, and not Betun.

[There seems to be very little foundation for what is asserted in this note respecting the identity of the families of Beaton and Bethune. Spotswood says positively that the archbishop was "descended of the house of "Balfour in Fife." Sir George Carew says, "the duke of Sully is by many held to be of Scottish extraction of the family of the Betons, though he himself will not acknowledge it." (State of France under Henry IV.) Archbishop Beaton quitted Scotland, on account of the reformation, and carried away all the writings of his see, together with the vessels and ornaments of the cathedral, many of which were of great value. When Mary returned to Scotland, she left him her ambassador in France. By his will he bequeathed a sum of money for the education of poor scholars, being "Scotish men born," and the writings, vessels, and ornaments, he consigned to the Carthusians at Paris, to be restored whenever Glasgow should become Catholic. See Spotswood, p. 477. EDIT

intreating me to prevail upon the king to take the archbishop under his protection; and to gain me entirely over to his interests, he told me that the old man had so great an affection for me, that he often wept at my unhappiness in being educated in the Protestant religion!

The cardinal next resumed the subject of his benefices, with which he concluded his discourse; and earnestly intreated me to obtain him his majesty's permission to resign them, confessing that the possession of them had given dreadful uneasiness to the deceased cardinal his uncle, from whom he had them, as well as to himself, some of them having been forcibly taken from families who were their lawful proprietors; and his eminence thought he should make a sufficient atonement both for himself and his uncle, and pacify his conscience, by restoring them to the injured persons after his death. He had finished all he had to say to me, when Duret* his physician entered the room; having recommended silence to his patient, he took upon himself the care of acquainting me with all the secrets of the cardinal, whose confidence he possessed; and he acquitted himself of this task like a man who had a great opinion of his own eloquence, for he wearied me sufficiently. I made no other answer to his tedious harangue, than reiterated promises of serving his eminence.

I staid three days in Paris, during which I learnt that many persons in the parliament favoured the cause of the Jesuits, and that there were even two parties openly formed in that assembly, the strongest of which leaned to their side, and did every thing in their power

* Lewis Duret, lord of Chevry.

to prevent the advocates (who were M. Arnauld and Dollé, for the University, and Duret and Vesoris for the Jesuits*) entering into vexatious accusations, or using abusive language, but above all that they might not plead before a public audience.† I was also sufficiently convinced during my stay, of the dangerous correspondences carried on by the count d'Auvergne, d'Entragues, and his wife. Their house was the rendezvous for all the king's enemies, either in the league or the Spanish party, where they held every night secret councils against the king's interest and service. I spoke of these things to the chancellor,‡ de Bellievre, de Pontcarri and de Maisses, and requested them to use every precaution with regard to the intrigues of d'Auvergne, and the affair of the Jesuits, till they should know his majesty's pleasure, after I had informed him of all that had taken place: on the latter subject, I recommended them to act with caution and moderation, an advice which they all the more approved of, as coming from me, knowing that my religion gave them no cause to suspect me.

The respect I owed to the cardinal of Bourbon made me resolve to speak to the superintendant in favour of the archbishop of Glasgow before I left Paris, though

* The cardinal of Bourbon, the superintendant d'O, Antony Seguire, king's advocate, and a great many others, publicly solicited for the Jesuits.

† Those readers who are curious to know the charges brought against the Jesuits in this celebrated cause will find them in a small 4to. black letter tract, printed at the time, intitled "the Arrainement of the whole Societie of Jesuites in France, holden in the honorable Court of Parliament in Paris the 12 and 13 of July, 1594. London, 1594." EDIT.

‡ Philip Hurault de Chiverny, or Cheverny, lord chancellor of France.—Camus de Pontcarre, master of requests.—Pomponne de Bellievre.—Andrew Aurault, sieur de Maisse; in the following year he was made ambassador to Venice.

I knew well what I had to expect from a man so little solicitous to conceal the hatred he bore to my whole family, and which a late quarrel with my youngest brother had augmented. I hoped to find more justice from the king, and I hastened to join him at Laon, after taking leave of the cardinal, who still continued extremely ill.

At Bruyeres, where I had left my field equipage, I learned, that the duke of Maïenne, being in constant expectation of a great army, which count Charles of Mansfield was to bring him, had advanced with some troops as far as La-Fere, and twice attempted to throw a supply of one hundred horse and two hundred arquebusiers into Laon; that the first was defeated by Givry, and the second by the count of Soissons, whose turn it was that day to guard the trench: that the king gave always a glorious example to the princes and officers, and mounted guard in the trenches in his turn.

His majesty was in bed when I arrived at his quarters, although it was only three o'clock in the afternoon: he asked me if I was not surprised to find him in that situation at such an hour; this bed, however, was only two mattrasses laid on the ground. All night, and the preceding day, this prince had been standing at the trench, where he was employed in directing works to be made in the hill, upon the declivity of which Laon is situated, either to change the position of some batteries, or to shelter the workmen by parapets. He was so greatly fatigued with standing upon the ground, which was extremely rugged, that several blisters rose on his feet, which did not, however, hinder him from staying to see the work carried on, till all these bursting, each of his feet became one continued sore, which

obliged him to go to bed, and have some dressings applied to them; these he ordered to be changed in my presence, "That you may be convinced," said he, "I do not act the sick man unseasonably." I was very far, indeed, from entertaining such a thought, and if I accused him of any thing, it was of the contrary excess. I believe he perceived it; for seeking, as it were, to justify himself, he told me, that he was under a necessity of undertaking and superintending this work, which would give him two days advance upon the besieged city; and that I would not condemn him after I had seen it, or, at least, heard an account of it from the connoisseurs whom he had sent to visit it, and whose return he expected at five o'clock.

I took advantage of this opportunity of being alone with the king to give him an account of my journey, which I did, kneeling on a cushion he made me bring to his bed side. After I had concluded, his majesty approved of all I had done, and the hopes which I had given the cardinal of Bourbon; and in consequence of my intreaties, he ordered Beaulieu-Rusé to write three letters instantly; the first, which was addressed to the chancellor, regarded the Jesuits; after mentioning that he had learnt from me every thing that had taken place on this subject, he told the chancellor, that it was always his desire to leave the court of justice open to all his subjects of whatever description, neither did he wish to prevent the two parties, whose cause was now under consideration, from exhibiting their respective complaints against each other; but, at the same time he could wish that this should be done with as little bitterness and invective as possible, and that the pleaders (if the cause came to a hearing) should act with all

that moderation and gravity which became their profession, and use no expressions which could inflame men's minds, or give birth to disputes amongst the people; and that the judges should not give their decision till he were informed of their sentiments, or had returned himself to Paris. The second letter was addressed to d'O, the substance of which was, that his majesty could not approve of the harsh treatment of the old archbishop of Glasgow, in wishing to compel him to quit Paris; for, although in the time of his mistress, the queen of Scots, he had been a zealous partizan of Spain and the house of Guise, yet he deserved rather to be praised than blamed for it, since he well knew there were no other means, or persons, likely to save the life and liberty of that princes (on the manner of whose death enough might here be said;) but be that as it might, there was no likelihood, now she was dead, that this old man, who durst not return to Scotland, and had only two abbeys* in France for his support, would again engage in the service of any foreign prince, or carry on any practices against the state in which he had determined to end his days; added to this, his majesty said he had received such assurances from several of his most faithful servants, in favour of the archbishop, that he had no doubt whatever of his upright intentions, and he therefore desired he might be treated honourably, and that d'O would do every thing for him which depended upon his office.

The third letter was to the cardinal of Bourbon, and written by Leoménie, secretary of state, as from the king himself: his majesty informed his eminence,

* Notre-dame de l'Absie, in Poitou, and the priory of St. Peter of Pontoise.

that he would approve of the disposition he should make of his benefices, and was ready to ratify it, by signing himself the form he should send him, provided he found in it nothing contrary to the canons, the liberties, and customs of the kingdom. He concluded this letter with an assurance of his protection and friendship; and as a proof of his confidence, sent the two others under cover to him, that he might transmit them himself to the persons they were directed to; and had the complaisance to acquaint him with their contents. I desired du Peirat, whom the king sent with these three letters to Paris, to deliver one from me to the cardinal, in which I exhorted him, by every thing that I thought could make any impression upon his mind, to free himself from all his domestic disquietudes.

These affairs were but just over before the arrival of messieurs de Biron, Givry, Saint-Luc, Marivault, Parabere, Vignoles, Fouqueroles, and others, whom the king had sent to examine his works of the preceding day, particularly two mines which he had caused to be opened. Every one gave his opinion of them to show his own skill: they could not agree, and a dispute insensibly arose amongst them: marshal Biron, vain of his great talents for war, by an assuming air, and a superiority of accent which made him always master of the conversation, could with difficulty bear to hear any one declare himself of an opinion contrary to his.

The king, perceiving that words grew high amongst them, in order to oblige them to silence, told them he had received notice from three spies, who came one after the other from different places, that the duke of Maïenne and the count of Mansfield having united their

forces, had resolved to attempt, at all hazards, to throw a very considerable convoy of ammunition and provisions into Laon, in order to avoid a battle; and that this convoy was to set out instantly upon its march, supported by a very powerful escort, with a design to surprise the guard, force themselves a passage, and enter the besieged city. This afforded a new subject for controversy, which ended at last in Biron's favour, who obtained the command of a strong detachment, with which he intended to post himself in the forest between Laon and La-Fere, and to attack both the escort and the convoy. He composed the detachment himself, which consisted of twelve hundred French infantry, all chosen men, eight hundred Swiss, three hundred light horse, two hundred troopers, and one hundred gentlemen of the king's household. I asked the king's permission to go along with this detachment, which he refused me several times, alleging, that there were many things which he wished me to inform him of; but, upon my repeated importunities, he allowed me to go.

We began our march at six o'clock in the afternoon, and reached the forest at one in the morning, where we advanced cautiously to the extremity of it near La-Fere; here we lay in ambuscade. Marshal Biron detained all the passengers we met on the high road, who, he thought, might carry intelligence of his design into La-Fere; and placed centinels on horseback at the end of the forest, to bring him exact information of whatever came out of the city. We waited with great impatience till four o'clock in the afternoon, before we heard any news; and then the centinels came to inform us, that the great road from La-Fere to Laon was covered with so long a file of soldiers, and such a vast quantity of

baggage of every kind, that they could imagine nothing else but that the whole army of the enemy was advancing. That instant I perceived several of the most resolute amongst us look pale, and whisper to each other, that it was necessary to make our retreat. This, many of us opposed; and the commander declaring himself for this last opinion, it was agreed upon by a majority of voices, that some one of the troop should be sent to reconnoitre, and bring back an exact account of what he saw. Fouqueroles, whose valour and prudence were well known, was chosen with two others, for this employment; and returning a little time afterwards, informed us, that this seemingly formidable line was composed of three hundred waggons, laden with ammunition, escorted by four squadrons of one hundred horse each, who marched before the convoy, followed by eight or nine hundred musketiers, and an equal number of Spanish infantry brought up the rear.

This number not being equal to ours, it was agreed upon, with one voice, that we should attack them; and we only differed upon the manner of doing it: I, with many others, were of opinion, that it would be better to let the convoy enter the forest, and then fall upon its rear. Givry,* Montigny, and Marivault, who were at the head of the cavalry, were for the negative, and maintained so positively, that there was less danger in attacking them in the open field, that they drew marshal Biron into their opinion. At first this method succeeded; the cavalry of the enemy gave way as soon as they

* Anne d'Anglure, baron of Givry. He was killed at Laon a few days after this encounter, and greatly lamented by Henry IV.—Francis de la Grange, lord de Montigny: he is mentioned again. Claude de l'Isle, sieur de Marivault.

were attacked, though at the beginning they showed great resolution, and retired to the sides of the waggons: but we soon found whom we had to deal with; the enemy's infantry which were in front waited firmly for our troopers, whom Biron sent to attack them, and fired upon them with such excellent order as obliged them to give ground. Biron commanded them to return to the charge by the left flank, while he attacked the right, which was evidently the least dangerous. The onset was so terrible that the enemy's foot were forced to retire, and, like the other squadrons, take shelter in the midst of the waggons, from whence they still continued to defend themselves: in the mean time, the Spanish battalion advanced from the rear to the front, and formed itself in such a manner, that it was supported on all sides by the cavalry and the waggons, without losing the assistance of the first battalion: they made so vigorous a defence, that all Biron's entreaties and menaces could not prevent our six hundred horse from quitting the fight, extremely weakened. The Swiss and French infantry, who took their place, found equal resistance. The battle lasted a long time. Biron, apprehending that an action which passed so near La-Fere would give time for a considerable supply to be sent to the convoy, if it were not very speedily ended, he, as a last resource, commanded the hundred gentlemen to dismount, to add to their other arms, which consisted of a sword and pistol, a pike, of which we had brought a great quantity along with us, and to bring up to the charge all our foot, both French and Swiss, which had not yet encountered the Spaniards. Messieurs de Guitry,* de

* This is not John de Chaumont de Guitry, who has been so often mentioned in history, and in these memoirs; he died in the year 1592: See his

Montigny, de Marivault, de Trigny, d'Arambure, de La-Curée, de Lopes, d'Heures, and others, advanced in this manner at the head of three hundred foot, and Biron with an equal number, followed them. I was in the second battalion. The charge was so furious, that the pike and fusee became useless; we fought hand to hand, and even wrestled with each other. The Spaniards at length gave ground, and, after throwing away their arms,* fled for shelter to the forest and waggons. This last refuge was of no service to them; we pursued them thither, and made a horrible carnage among them: no less than twelve hundred were left dead upon the place. We took but few prisoners. Those persons who were of any distinction in the cavalry, had time to get back to La-Fere; we neither pursued them, nor the others who had taken shelter in the forest, lest we should be surprised and thrown into disorder by new troops sent from La-Fere to their assistance: on the contrary we only thought of rallying, and keeping upon our guard, during the time that was necessary to rest and refresh ourselves with some of the provisions we found in great abundance in the convoy, which, notwithstanding all Biron's orders, was so plundered by the soldiers, and there being upwards of four hundred of the carriage horses killed or wounded, that we carried off but a small part of it, with which we marched back to the camp in the night.

panegyric in M. de Thou, book ciii. The person mentioned here was, according to Cayet, so called, because he married the heiress of this family. Chron. Novenn. b. iv. p. 23. But Cayet is mistaken; John de Chaumont left several sons, who bore arms in the king's service.

* La-Curée, who was a good judge in these matters, attributes the defeat of the Spaniards to their custom of using too long swords, and too short waist-belts. Vol. 8929. MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi.

Biron, with the same confident air which he had assumed to procure the command in this expedition, presented himself to his majesty at his return, to receive the praises due to his success. Having a subject so copious to discuss, one may easily imagine what a man, who knew not that on such occasions silence is merit, would say to enhance the greatness of his victory. Indeed his discourse seemed to insinuate, that he had that moment fixed the crown upon the king's head. Experience has shown that this haughtiness, which borders a little upon boasting, of itself sufficiently in the French taste, commonly succeeds with a general who has Frenchmen to lead: with them to seem sure of a victory, goes a great way towards gaining it. The king was not ignorant of this disposition; and he had seen very happy consequences arise from it, on those hazardous occasions, when the soldiers sought only in the countenance and words of their leader, the idea they ought to have of the present danger. Hence a seeming confidence of success became habitual to him, which was imitated by all the general officers; and, as it often happens, many of them, but particularly marshal Biron, carried this confidence so far as to become insupportable to all the others, and even to the king himself, who was not on this occasion the less indulgent.

The obliging reception which his majesty gave to Biron, and those that had followed him, created great jealousy in the courtiers, who were not of the party, and completely turned Biron's head. However he could not obtain the government of Laon, which was what he aimed at by exalting his last action, and arrogating all the glory of it to himself alone, as if the others had had no part in it. The king discovered his thoughts of it

freely to me, and seemed on many accounts greatly discontented with the marshal. His majesty told me that after so many causes of complaint which Biron had given him, after his having dared even lately to threaten him with going over to his enemies, and the discoveries he had just made of the correspondence he carried on with messieurs d'Epernon and d'Auvergne, he could not resolve to trust him with the care of a place so near the Low Countries as Laon, which ought only to be given to a man* whose fidelity had been tried; but he feared, he said, that Biron would keep no measures after this refusal, and would openly join the party against him, or, what was still more dangerous, continue near his person, while he secretly sided with his enemies. Henry, who from this moment was persuaded that he would one day have all this to fear from Biron, added, that he perceived the marshal had sought my friendship for some time, doubtless with an intention to procure my concurrence to a marriage between his brother, and madamoiselle de Saint-Geniès,† my niece, who was one of the greatest fortunes in France; and he ordered me to take advantage of this new friendship, to penetrate into his designs.

The great convoy being defeated, the king without any obstacle, continued the siege of Laon, till he received notice that the duke of Maïenne, and the count of Mansfield, far from being disheartened by this bad success, talked of nothing less than coming to force the lines of the besiegers, as soon as they had received some troops they were in expectation of. Biron treat-

* This government was given to Marivault.

† Daughter of Elias de Gontault, lord de Badefou, and Saint-Genies, governor of Bearne, viceroy of Navarre, and of Jacqueline de Bethune, monsieur de Rosny's sister.

ed this news with contempt; but his majesty, who neglected nothing, was not easy about it till Givry, whom he had sent to reconnoitre, escorted by three hundred horse, with strict orders not to return till he had gained perfect knowledge of the situation and forces of the enemy, brought him at the end of three days, certain intelligence that there was not a single company of them on this side the Oise; and that the Spaniards were more inclined to return to Flanders than to Laon. The king, relying upon the justness of this report, that very evening made a party to go and dine the next day at St. Lambert, a house dependent upon the domain of Navarre, and situated in the midst of the forest, where he remembered to have often gone to eat fruit, milk, and new cheese, whilst in his youth he had resided in the castle of Marle; and he still promised himself great pleasure in seeing it again.

About thirty of us attended him to St. Lambert, where as he had passed part of the preceding night in visiting as usual the trenches, batteries, and mines, he fell asleep as soon as he had dined: his good constitution, joined to a habit of fatigue, had accustomed him to sleep in any place, and when he pleased, and to wake at any hour. The weather being then extremely hot, eight or ten of us went into the thickest part of the forest,* not far from the great road leading from La-Fere to Laon. We had not gone farther than twelve or fifteen hundred paces, when a noise which came from that side near La-Fere drew all our attention: it seemed to be a confused mixture of human voices, smacking of whips, neighing of horses, and a noise like the distant sound of trumpets and drums. That we might hear

* The forest of Folambray.

more plainly, we came forwards to the road, from whence we saw distinctly, about eight hundred paces before us, a column of infantry, which appeared to us to be foreigners, marching in good order, and without any noise, that which we had heard proceeding from the servants and suttlers of the army who followed, and from those who conducted a considerable convoy of artillery. Extending our view as far as it was possible, so great a number of troops seemed to us to file off after the waggons, that we did not doubt but it was the whole of the enemy's army.

We returned immediately, and found the king awake, shaking a plum-tree, of whose fruit he seemed very fond. "Faith, sire," said we, "some people we have just "seen passing, are preparing other plums for you not "quite so easy of digestion." We explained ourselves in few words; and the king the more readily believed us, having, as he told us, heard some noise about a quarter of an hour before, but which (not being able to imagine that Givry could have acquitted himself so ill of his commission) he thought had proceeded from his own camp. His majesty ordered twelve of us, who were ready at hand, to go instantly to the different quarters of the cavalry (a list of which he always carried in his pocket), to spread the alarm there, and to order them all to repair with the utmost expedition to the king's quarters, while, at the same time, others were sent to the infantry to form them into battalions, and post them between those quarters and the trenches. He gave these orders as he was mounting his horse, and although he rode with great swiftness, he continued giving them to all he met, with the same justness and extent of thought as if he had been long before prepared for

a battle. Such was this prince's quickness of apprehension, and admirable presence of mind, that nothing escaped him; whereas any other, in the same situation, instead of forming a well regulated plan, would have been hardly able to have fixed upon a tolerable expedient. The enemy, upon their arrival, found every one prepared for them, to which circumstance perhaps the whole army owed its preservation: for it must be confessed that, if the enemy's cavalry, which at the same instant appeared in the front of the camp, where they formed themselves into squadrons with great expedition, had only been able to have thrown the soldiers into a panic, which, the king and part of the officers being absent, must infallibly have happened by an effect of the first surprise, it would have been easy for them, amidst this sudden confusion, to have defeated great part of the army, and probably fear might have delivered up the rest into their power.

This example is alone sufficient to prove of what utility it is for a general of an army, not only to possess that quality of the mind which embraces all possible contingencies, but to be well acquainted with the names, abilities, and good or bad qualities of all the officers, as well as of the different bodies which compose his army, and in his turn to be known by them, as the only one of all the general officers, whose advice (the quality of leader apart) his soldiers would choose, in any difficult conjuncture, to follow, as the wisest and best, to give that advice with firmness, but without that ostentation which arises from the certainty of having found out the best; to inspire them with a fondness for their occupation; to render their discipline pleasing, by never oppressing them with orders, but at

the same time to accustom them never to expect that those already established will on any occasion whatever be dispensed with or diminished; in a word, to possess the art of making himself be at all times readily obeyed by them, without inspiring that timidity which keeps them silent, when by a seasonable hint they might assist the thoughts of their leader; an inconvenience which has often been the ruin of many armies and their commanders.

Notwithstanding the expedition the king used on this occasion, if the enemy's general had taken advantage of the opportunity which chance had given him, it is probable we might have suffered a considerable check; but knowing the prince he had to deal with, he durst not suffer the van of his army to appear, till the whole was come out of the forest, that one part might not be deprived of the assistance of the other, in case the king should be informed of his march, and meet him with his entire army. It happened also, that the march of the army was retarded by the carriage of one of their culverines breaking in the middle of the road, which it blocked up for some time, and this embarrassment was still further increased by the shattered fragments of the waggons that were destroyed in the late route of the convoy, which lay scattered along the whole of the road, together with the bodies of both men and horses: added to all this, the person whom the duke of Maïenne had sent to reconnoitre a place proper for pitching his camp, did not return so speedily as he might have done.

The king took advantage of all these delays: he drew out from the trenches as many men as were sufficient to cover them, without leaving too few within, and ranged the rest of his army in order of battle in front, when the

enemy, who no longer hoped to surprise him, gave him time. That day was employed on both sides in choosing the most advantageous posts for a battle. It was not however the intention of the two generals of the enemy to engage: they dreaded the king's superiority, and our cavalry, which was almost all composed of gentlemen. Their whole design by this movement was to induce the king to raise the siege of Laon by coming to meet them, and afterwards to evade a battle, or at least, in the confusion their arrival was likely to cause, to throw three thousand foot, and three hundred troopers into the place; but as we did not know their intention till afterwards, when we were informed of it by some prisoners whom we took, it was not doubted but that there would be a general action the next day, the two camps being so near that we heard distinctly the sound of their trumpets, and the shouts of their soldiers.

In the midst of the ground that separated us from the enemy, there was only one hill, which was almost round, and which appeared to me to be of great importance, with regard to the besieged city, should the enemy make himself master of it. The king, who had sent me to reconnoitre it, gave me two pieces of cannon, to support a regiment that were by his order to post and fortify themselves there. I caused a hut to be erected for myself, and when the king came to visit this post, he found every thing in good order. The next day the enemy making a show of greater rosolution than the evening before, began a skirmish with all their musketry, and endeavoured to make themselves masters of a little wood which lay between the two camps. Above fifty thousand small arms were fired, but with so little effect that Parabere, who came to my hut to

sup with me, assured me that there were not twenty men slain, nor more than twice that number wounded.

Night coming on during this tumult: and the two generals of the enemy's army, who thought of nothing less than engaging farther, took advantage of it to retreat in silence to La-Fere. The king suffered them to fly, contenting himself with the disgrace they had drawn upon themselves by this ridiculous attempt.

END OF VOL. I.